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Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4288th meeting

Wednesday, 7 March 2001, 10.45 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Yel'Chenko	(Ukraine)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	China	Mr. Wang Donghua
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Ireland	Mr. Cooney
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Kassé
	Mauritius	Mr. Neewoor
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Minton

Agenda

Ensuring an effective role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly in Africa

Letter dated 28 February 2001 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2001/185)

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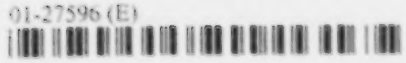

The meeting was called to order at 11.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Ensuring an effective role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly in Africa

Letter dated 28 February 2001 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2001/185)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Belarus, Brazil, Canada, Croatia, Egypt, Japan, Namibia, Pakistan, Peru and Sweden, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Baali (Algeria), Mr. Listre (Argentina), Ms. Wensley (Australia), Mr. Laptenok (Belarus), Mr. Fonseca (Brazil), Mr. Duval (Canada), Mr. Šimonović (Croatia), Mr. Aboulgheit (Egypt), Mr. Kobayashi (Japan), Mr. Anjaba (Namibia), Mr. Khalid (Pakistan), Mr. Picasso (Peru) and Mr. Schori (Sweden) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2001/185, which contains the text of a letter dated 28 February 2001 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

At the outset, I should like sincerely to welcome the Secretary-General, and all the other participants, to the Security Council Chamber today. Their presence here testifies to the importance of our meeting, as well as of the subject matter to be addressed. Today, we mark six months since the Security Council held its Summit, entitled "Ensuring an effective role for the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly in Africa". That meeting, held during the course of the Millennium Summit, assembled the leaders of the States members of the Council to reaffirm their responsibilities in upholding the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. It brought about a number of important commitments by the Security Council to enhance United Nations effectiveness in addressing challenges to peace and security, which were recorded in its unanimously adopted declaration.

Giving special importance to the decisions taken at the Summit, Ukraine, having assumed the presidency of the Security Council, proposed convening an open debate aimed at evaluating concrete results in the implementation of those decisions. This debate proceeds from the assumption that there is a need to conduct regular reviews of the practical implementation of the decisions taken and to explore further ways of ensuring an effective role for the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security. In this context, I should like to draw particular attention to the decision taken by the Security Council to invite non-members of the Council to speak first at this open debate. I hope that our broad and frank exchange of views will strengthen the efforts aimed at increasing the effectiveness of current and future activities of the Security Council.

I now invite the Secretary-General to address the Council.

The Secretary-General: It gives me great pleasure to join the Council today for this open debate on the implementation of decisions taken last September, when this Council met — for only the second time in its history — at the level of heads of State or Government. Let me thank you, Mr. President, for initiating this timely review. The Security Council Summit was, indeed, a historic occasion that demonstrated in a most eloquent way the commitment of the States represented on this Council to making its work more effective. That commitment was spelled out in resolution 1318 (2000), adopted at the Summit, in which the Council undertook to act preventively in future; to improve the capacity of the United Nations to act effectively; and to act quickly and decisively.

I told the Council on that day that it was facing a crisis of credibility. We are here today to assess whether that is still true, and what progress has been made in overcoming that crisis.

Before we begin the debate, I should like to ask members to consider one point very carefully. The resolutions of this Council are not self-implementing. In themselves, they hardly do more than express a wish or an aspiration. Their impact on reality depends on a great deal of subsequent effort, by Member States, as well as by the Secretariat. It is therefore vital that the delegates who attend the Council's meetings regularly maintain a constant dialogue with their capitals, which should stimulate dialogue in those capitals focusing on how to translate the aspirations contained in each resolution into real change on the ground. This dialogue needs to start before a resolution is passed, and it needs to continue long afterwards.

I know that all, or most, members of the Council are now engaged in such dialogues. The Secretariat stands ready and willing to assist them. But too often these dialogues involve only a handful of experts. Only through the much deeper and broader involvement of Member States, reaching up to the highest political level, can the will and resources needed to implement Council resolutions be mustered.

That, of course, applies to resolution 1318 (2000) itself. In that resolution, the Council, meeting at the level of heads of State or Government, pledged, among other things, to make the United Nations more effective in addressing conflict at all stages, from prevention through political settlement to post-conflict peace-building. It also affirmed its determination to strengthen United Nations peacekeeping operations. It listed the measures by which it would do so, and resolution 1327 (2000), adopted two months later, spelled out those measures in much greater detail. Those two resolutions, therefore, are ones to which Member States have committed themselves in a particularly solemn way. I hope that not only you, Excellencies, but your colleagues and political masters back home, will make the most strenuous efforts to see those resolutions translated into concrete action.

Let me thank you, Mr. President, for the most useful working paper which you prepared for this meeting, in which you ask a number of very pertinent questions. Let me sum up my remarks by adding one question of my own: are your capitals now engaged in an active debate on the best way to fulfil the commitments made by the Council in resolutions 1318 (2000) and 1327 (2000)? Indeed, are they seriously discussing how to implement resolution 1325 (2000) on women and peace and security, or the recently adopted presidential statements on strengthening cooperation with troop-contributing countries and on peace-building?

There is no doubt that, with these decisions in the past six months, the Council has undertaken important new commitments. I hope the next six months will be marked by equally vigorous action to put those commitments into effect.

I look forward eagerly to hearing your conclusions.

The President: I thank the Secretary-General for his kind words addressed to me.

I have no doubt that the participants in the debate will reflect on the proposals and questions that the Secretary-General has put before us.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Canada. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Duval (Canada) (*spoke in French*): The Security Council declaration adopted by heads of State or Government on 7 September is a seminal document that will guide this Council for many years to come. My delegation is pleased to have this opportunity to participate in this very preliminary assessment of where this Organization and its Member States stand with respect to the implementation of the elements contained in resolution 1318 (2000). We are grateful to you, Mr. President, for having convened this meeting today.

I will focus mainly on two of the six questions contained in the explanatory note to which you referred (S/2001/185, Annex), Mr. President: the third question, on strengthening United Nations peacekeeping operations; and the sixth, on strengthening cooperation and communication between the United Nations and regional or subregional organizations and arrangements. The commitments undertaken by the Council last September serve as benchmarks against which United Nations Member States will measure the performance of those upon whom we have conferred the primary responsibility for the maintenance of

international peace and security, that is, the members of this Council.

The Council's report card on the strengthening of peacekeeping operations contains both good and bad elements. We are pleased that the Council responded quickly to the Brahimi report by adopting resolution 1327 (2000). We have already begun to see changes in the Council's decision-making processes with regard to peacekeeping operations, including, particularly in the case of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), a willingness to amend mandates in order to ensure that they are clear, credible and achievable. We regret, however, that, in that particular case, the Council's duty to provide for the protection of civilians in armed conflict was not upheld.

Some progress has also been evident in giving effect to the observation, in the declaration, of the need for a transparent three-way relationship between the Security Council, the Secretariat and the troop-contributing countries. Singapore's initiative in consulting the broader membership on strengthening consultations with troop-contributing countries is welcome indeed. Now is the time to transform into action the words that were uttered during that important debate. I think that this is what the Secretary-General has urged us to do this morning.

We were pleased to see the establishment of a Security Council Working Group on peacekeeping, and we were especially satisfied to see the chairmanship of that Group placed in the very capable hands of Ambassador Curtis Ward of Jamaica. But the Council must not allow the creation of a working group to substitute for a vigorous response to the ideas put forward during the open debate.

Subsequent to its intervention in January's debate, my delegation circulated a proposal for a "mission-specific cooperative mechanism for Security Council-mandated operations" (*S/2001/73, annex*). In that proposal, we emphasized that the issue was not one of communications or consultations but rather one of cooperation and participation. If we, the Member States of the United Nations, want to develop a meaningful and trustworthy three-way relationship, then it is you, the members of the Security Council, who must find a way for troop contributors to participate fully in the decision-making process for Council-mandated operations.

Both the Council and the Secretariat must be able to win and sustain the confidence of troop-contributing Governments. It must be clear that the strategy and concept of operations for any new mission are sound and that the plans for their implementation are well thought through. Troop-contributing Governments must also be confident that their troops or police would be serving in sensible missions with effective leadership. That confidence comes from cooperation, not from mere notification or even from consultation.

We hope that the Working Group will focus seriously on these and other issues, making specific and practical recommendations for Council action. We look forward to learning of the results of the Working Group, established by presidential statement 2001/3, including the interim decisions due next month.

(*spoke in English*)

I would also like to say a few words regarding the Council's relationship with regional and subregional organizations and processes. Over the past five years, the Secretary-General has made substantial progress in improving the Secretariat's ability to work with regional and subregional bodies. That progress has not been matched by the Security Council.

Too often, the Council has been absent when peace agreements were negotiated. In some instances, the result was that the United Nations was assigned roles it could not possibly execute — whether the forced disarmament of combatants, the supervision of vast territories or other functions the signatories themselves were not willing to take on. It is not in anybody's interest that peace agreements be premised on false expectations. The Council must find a way of ensuring that its views of what is attainable are fully understood by the parties to any peace process in which subsequent United Nations action may be a factor.

On the other hand, where the Security Council has engaged regional or subregional bodies, too often the result has simply been to delay effective Council action. This, too, serves nobody's interest over the long run.

Effective collaboration with regional and subregional organizations and arrangements may never be easy, but the Council's ability to get it right may well determine whether the Council succeeds or fails in its Charter-mandated responsibility to maintain international peace and security.

In conclusion, I wish to re-emphasize my delegation's continuing support for the implementation of Security Council resolution 1318 (2000). I also wish to register our support for efforts to ensure transparency in the Council's working methods and to provide an opportunity for Council members to benefit from the views of the broader United Nations membership. Of course, debates in this Chamber must not become a substitute for meaningful Council action, and simply listening to non-members of the Council must not become a substitute for really hearing, and acting upon, what they say.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Sweden. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Schori (Sweden): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — and the associated countries of Cyprus and Malta, as well as the European Free Trade Association country member of the European Economic Area, Iceland, align themselves with this statement.

Six months ago, the Security Council adopted an important declaration on enhancing the role of the Council in the maintenance of international peace and security. Today we should ask ourselves how far we have come, particularly in Africa. Have the Council's intentions of September 2000 become real? Is the understanding reached at the summit being translated into practical action?

The answer is yes, but it is most definitely a work in progress. In fact, over the past six months, we have seen certain steps forward in strengthening United Nations activities in peace and security. However, much remains to be done.

Keeping our focus on Africa, let us recall that the continent currently hosts three of this Organization's most important peacekeeping missions. Of these, the Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea has reached full deployment, and the one in Sierra Leone is experiencing major changes. In today's debate, however, I would like to focus on the regional crisis that was on the summit's agenda six months ago and still remains a challenge for the Security Council, the international community and the parties concerned: the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

There have been encouraging signs lately that the parties to the conflict are finally committed to implementing the Lusaka Agreement. The United Nations, in particular the Security Council, has responded to these changed circumstances in a quick and flexible manner. However, in order for the process not to derail, the parties must remain committed, and the capacity of the United Nations to provide support must be strengthened. Unless the well-known constraints of United Nations peace operations are addressed, the Organization will not be able to realize its full potential in helping control and defuse crises, whether in the Democratic Republic of the Congo or elsewhere.

By the adoption of resolution 1327 (2000) in November 2000, the Security Council acted quickly to the reforms proposed by the Brahimi Panel. Work has also been undertaken by the Member States in the General Assembly to follow up on these recommendations. So far, however, the reforms proposed in the Brahimi report have received only partial endorsement. The European Union considers that the Brahimi proposals offer a unique opportunity to improve the way the international community approaches peacekeeping and strongly urges the United Nations and its Member States to work towards full implementation of its recommendations. The European Union hopes that the resumption later this spring of consideration of the Brahimi report will result in the endorsement of a wider range of its recommendations.

One such recommendation — the improvement of cooperation between the Security Council, the United Nations Secretariat and the troop-contributing countries — is now being looked at in depth by the Security Council Working Group on peacekeeping. The European Union notes that important lessons on the need for closer consultations with troop-contributing countries can be drawn from recent experiences and welcomes the fact that the Working Group will engage in this issue as well as other key themes of the Brahimi report.

Let us not forget, however, that ultimately the role of the United Nations cannot go beyond the will of the parties. Unless there is a real desire for peace among the parties involved in the conflict, there are

limits to what the international community can do to help, and peace efforts will certainly fail.

As has been affirmed by the Council before, we cannot deal effectively with conflict without tackling its root causes. A long-term and comprehensive perspective is necessary to prevent conflicts and consolidate peace. Measures in this field should be all-encompassing and include reducing poverty; improving health, looking particularly at the HIV/AIDS crisis; strengthening democracy; ensuring respect for human rights and promoting gender equality; and increasing humanitarian assistance. All these elements are necessary and directly relevant to the responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter. The European Union looks forward to the Secretary-General's report on conflict prevention due in May.

Let me now turn to some key areas of conflict resolution addressed by the summit declaration, particularly in Africa.

First, Africa is generally regarded as the region most affected by the scourge of illegal flows and destabilizing accumulations of small arms. The upcoming United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects will play a vital role in focusing international efforts to address this problem. The European Union will do its utmost to ensure that the Conference leads to prompt and decisive actions that foster early and sustainable solutions. Additionally, programmes aimed at disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants into civil society should, whenever necessary and appropriate, be an integral element of the mandates of peacekeeping operations.

Secondly, systematic and deliberate violations of sanctions continue to fuel some of the long and bitter conflicts in Africa. The reports of the Monitoring Mechanism on Angola and the Panel of Experts on Sierra Leone have shown that many of the same actors are involved in violations of sanctions in those countries. It is essential that the international community show that such violations will not be tolerated.

In this context, the European Union reiterates its full support for the resolution on conflict diamonds adopted unanimously by the General Assembly last year. There is a clear need to give urgent consideration to the establishment of a global certification scheme for rough diamonds. The European Union welcomes the launch at Windhoek last month of the new phase of the Kimberly process, and looks forward to rapid progress and the presentation of clear recommendations to the next session of the General Assembly. We must put a stop to the use of diamond sales to fund continued conflict and suffering.

On the issue of sanctions, the European Union looks forward to the report of the informal working group of the Security Council on improving their effectiveness. We welcome recent efforts to ensure that United Nations sanctions are effectively targeted, and recall in that regard the valuable work sponsored by the Swiss and German Governments on improving the effectiveness of financial sanctions, travel restrictions and arms embargoes. We strongly support moves by the Council to make the objectives of sanctions and the criteria for lifting them clear from the outset; to assess the possible humanitarian impacts of sanctions; and to ensure that appropriate mechanisms for reviews are incorporated into sanctions regimes. The European Union notes the ongoing discussions in the Security Council on how to improve the monitoring of sanctions, and stresses that effective steps should be taken to support the Council and Member States on this and all other aspects of sanctions.

Thirdly, let me mention one instrument that is crucial for post-conflict reconstruction: international tribunals. It is important that individuals who have committed war crimes, genocide or crimes against humanity during an armed conflict be held criminally responsible for their acts. In the context of Africa, in particular, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda has served important functions of accountability, reconciliation, deterrence and peace-building. The European Union also wishes to underline the importance of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, and to renew its call on all States to become parties to the Statute with a view to its early entry into force.

Measures in the fields of conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace-building are closely interlinked and are crucial for building a solid foundation for peace. The Council has recently recognized the need to devise comprehensive peace-building strategies and to mobilize all relevant actors at the earliest possible stage to ensure that there is no gap between peacekeeping and peace-building. In this context, it is essential to give the Secretariat an information and analysis capacity that will permit it to

understand the profound, as well as the immediate, causes of conflict. This will provide the Secretary-General with the necessary input to develop integrated strategies for conflict resolution.

Of course, the Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. But it is equally recognized today that for peace efforts to succeed, the various relevant elements of the international community must act in a concerted manner. This makes sense not only in order to better utilize resources, but also to tap into the comparative advantages of each organization. The recent high-level meeting of the United Nations with regional organizations sought precisely to continue to strengthen the cooperation between the United Nations and regional or subregional organizations in the implementation of peace strategies. The European Union recalls its willingness to develop its cooperation with the United Nations in elaborating and implementing conflict-prevention and peace-building strategies.

Six months later, the report card reads, "Steps have been taken, but much more needs to be done". This assessment should encourage the United Nations to work more and harder to improve its role in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly in Africa. The whole United Nations membership should engage in this work, in accordance with the commitment made by the heads of State and Government last September in the Millennium Declaration.

Let me end on a general note by expressing our appreciation for initiatives taken by Security Council members to arrange open debates, such as the one being held today, on important thematic topics within the field of international peace and security. The European Union — in New York, in Brussels and in all the other capitals — wholeheartedly supports efforts to make these debates as interactive and as focused as possible.

The President: I would like to thank the representative of Sweden for his statement on behalf of the European Union. He has very pertinently reminded the Council of the major focus of the Security Council summit, namely, the need to pay special attention to the promotion of durable peace and security in Africa.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kobayashi (Japan): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting as a follow-up to the Security Council summit held last September. As the Council's role continues to evolve in order to respond to the constantly changing realities of today's world, it is important to review its effectiveness from time to time, to identify the problems it faces and to set priorities for its activities.

My delegation supports the general thrust of the declaration attached to Security Council resolution 1318 (2000), which was adopted at the conclusion of the Millennium Summit. It is particularly significant that the Council then pledged to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations in addressing conflict at every stage — from prevention to settlement to post-conflict peace-building — with a particular focus on Africa. As my delegation stressed at the open meeting on peace-building held last month, the problems of conflict and development in Africa demand the urgent and committed attention of the international community.

As acknowledged in the declaration attached to resolution 1318 (2000), there is a long list of issues that deserve to be discussed. But today I would like to focus on a few points that we believe are of fundamental importance.

First is the need to take a comprehensive and integrated approach in addressing a conflict situation. Such an approach must include economic and social dimensions in addition to political and military dimensions. Conflicts cannot be prevented nor peace-building achieved at the post-conflict stage unless the root causes of the conflict are addressed, and this requires efforts for reconstruction, development and capacity-building. The multifaceted mandates of many recent United Nations missions around the world are testimony to this requirement.

To ensure the effectiveness of such an approach, the Council must be particularly mindful of the importance of ensuring the smooth transition from one stage of conflict prevention and peace-building to the next. This requires a clear and coherent strategy throughout the entire process of United Nations involvement. Most importantly, utmost attention must be given to avoiding any gaps in the international

assistance required at different stages, particularly at a point of transition from one stage to another, because such a gap could bring to naught any progress achieved in preceding stages. This point will be particularly salient when we consider, for example, the United Nations presence in East Timor after its independence.

The cooperation of the entire international community is also essential. As my delegation has stressed on other occasions, players outside of Council must also be mobilized and fully involved to attain full cooperation. Non-Council Member States that commit their personnel as well as financial resources to United Nations efforts must be mobilized in order to ensure the success of any peace effort. Relevant regional organizations can also provide valuable insight and assistance to the Council.

Needless to say, the creation of a sound foundation for peace-building requires the cooperation of various agencies and institutions, such as the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Indeed, it is essential to involve these States and institutions at the earliest planning stage. In this regard, we strongly support the Council's recent practice of holding full-scale debates involving troop-contributing countries, major donors and relevant agencies and institutions. We strongly hope this practice will be continued.

Before concluding, I would like to mention here once again an obvious but unfulfilled requirement, namely Security Council reform. As reflected in the Millennium Declaration, which was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly last September, it is essential that the Security Council be reformed to reflect the realities of today's world so as to enhance the effectiveness and legitimacy of the Council itself. Although it was disappointing that the declaration of the Security Council summit made no reference to the need for such a reform, we hope that the Council, particularly its permanent members, will remain committed to the cause of Council reform.

In conclusion, I wish to stress that the subject of today's meeting requires the continued attention of the Council. We also realize that the subject is indeed a broad and complex one and needs to be addressed by the General Assembly as well. The subject requires full discussion with the broad participation of the Member States, and I thank you once again, Mr. President, for organizing today's meeting.

The President: I cannot agree more with the understanding of the representative of Japan about the need for active involvement of the General Assembly, as well as other organs of the United Nations system, in the discussion on strengthening the Organization's capabilities in the maintenance of international peace and security.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Argentina. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Listre (Argentina) *(spoke in Spanish)*: On September 7 last year, the heads of State of the members of the Security Council met to exchange views on mechanisms to strengthen the collective security system, and they raised several concerns that were reflected in resolution 1318 (2000). As President De la Rúa stated at that time, if the Security Council does not fully exercise its responsibility in maintaining international peace and security, none of the remaining activities of the United Nations can be successfully implemented.

Six months after that summit, your proposal, Mr. President, to assess what has been accomplished since then seems appropriate. We think that this evaluation must be done at two levels. The level is stipulated in the resolutions and presidential statements adopted by the Council in response to the concerns raised by our heads of State in resolution 1318 (2000). The second level is geared toward examining the impact that those resolutions and presidential statements have had on the conflicts that are before the Council.

The fact that the Security Council has adopted decisions on subjects such as the need to develop an exit strategy for every peace-keeping operation; the strengthening of the relationship between the Council and troop-contributing countries; the importance of the peace-building tasks in the integral solution of a conflict; the creation of groups of experts to identify the link between the illegal exploitation of natural resources and armed conflicts in Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo; the creation of the Working Group on peacekeeping operations; and having a greater interaction with regional and subregional organizations, as shown by the meetings held in February 2001 with the members of the Political Committee of the Lusaka Agreement in the case of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and with the Committee of the Economic

Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in the case of the conflicts in Sierra Leone and Guinea — all of this allows us a positive assessment of the activity of the Council since the adoption of resolution 1318 (2000).

However, we cannot but state our concern about the lack of progress in adopting a resolution on Sierra Leone that has remained in draft form for several months. The prolongation of this situation, in a regional framework which is deteriorating, certainly does not contribute to the credibility of the Council. Now, having said this, I must acknowledge the fact that efforts have been undertaken by the United Kingdom to overcome this difficult situation, which the Council has been tackling without any results to date.

This assessment, however, would not be complete if it were done in an abstract framework. The political will of the members of the Council to take action in a specific conflict and the support of the other Members of the Organization are essential factors to make operative the principles contained in those resolutions and presidential statements and, eventually, for the Council to be effective.

We believe that this political will is shown in providing enough resources to finance a peace-keeping operation; with logistical support, especially from those countries which are in a better position to offer it; and with the willingness to contribute with troops, including in those operations which involve a higher level of risk. Political will goes even beyond the existence of appropriate financial and human resources. It is also reflected in the willingness of the Security Council to hold substantive consultations with the troop-contributing countries and making more transparent its decision-making process on the establishment, modification or termination of the mandate of a peace-keeping operation.

The political will of the Security Council and the international community to assist the parties to a conflict must be accompanied by equal political will from those parties to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. By way of examples of such political will, we might cite respect for ceasefire agreements; guarantees of the freedom of movement and reasonable guarantees for the security of United Nations and associated personnel and humanitarian staff; and adherence to the commitments undertaken with respect to disarmament and demobilization.

Since resolution 1318 (2000) was adopted, there have been two specific cases in Africa demonstrating that the role of the Security Council can be effective only when the Council has the political will to act and the parties show the political will to resolve the conflict. In the case of Eritrea and Ethiopia, on the one hand, both parties respected the ceasefire agreement and cooperated with the United Nations while, on the other, the international community contributed enough troops and resources. These two factors allowed the successful deployment of the 4,200 troops of the Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the political will of the parties to implement the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement seemed to be coming together at the meetings held with the Security Council in February 2001, opening the way to the deployment of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which had been authorized a year earlier but had been paralysed by the parties' lack of will.

Any debate on the mechanisms to strengthen the collective security system established in the Charter must include the issue of humanitarian intervention. The question is: Can the Security Council remain inactive when serious and systematic violations of human rights are committed within the borders of a State, while at the same time it and the Organization as a whole advocate the defence of those very rights and freedoms? I am referring to cases of extreme violations of human rights. As President De la Rúa said in his statement before this Council on 7 September last year:

> "There is no simple answer to this question, because it is linked to values such as the sovereignty of States and to the principle of non-intervention.
>
> "We believe that the principle of non-intervention must be respected [because it is the very foundation of the relationships among independent States], but at the same time we believe that a complementary value should be added: the principle of non-indifference." (*S/PV.4194, p. 6*)

Just as there is a chapter devoted to lessons learned in peacekeeping operations, we believe that it would be useful for the Security Council to make a periodic and critical assessment of its own work. This is a complex task because, among the criteria applied

to assessing the effectiveness of the activities of the Council, we must take into account that political, military, economic, social, ethnic and geographical circumstances vary from one conflict to the other. The lessons learned in one case cannot always be applied to others. That is why we would consider it useful for the Council to complement the general assessment with a critical examination of its work on individual conflicts.

Finally, with respect to Security Council reform, we feel that it is necessary in order to make the Council's work more democratic, transparent, representative and harmonized to the realities of our time. We believe that such reform should be carried out by consensus.

The President: I think everybody will agree with the remarks of the representative of Argentina about the need for the decisions adopted by the Security Council always to be accompanied by a willingness to act decisively to implement them. Indeed, it is exactly this point that was also highlighted in the introductory statement made by the Secretary-General.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Baali (Algeria) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, allow me to express to you, Sir, my great satisfaction at seeing you preside over the work of the Security Council and to extend to Ambassador Saïd Ben Mustapha our gratitude and admiration for the way in which he guided the Council's work last month.

I also wish to thank you for having provided us with an opportunity to speak on the declaration adopted six months ago by this organ, meeting at the level of heads of State and Government, in conjunction with the Millennium Summit, in a high point for multilateralism and our Organization.

While it seems to me premature, if not presumptuous, to engage in a stocktaking, howsoever partial, of the implementation of that document — which, in fact, is more of a general policy framework than a programme of action endowed with a precise timetable — I wish nevertheless to make two general comments on the declaration itself before making a few brief observations limited exclusively to the issue of peacekeeping in Africa.

I wish thus to note and welcome the fact that the Council — which, in recent years, has increasingly ventured into the field of competence of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council in order to address issues whose connection to peace or security is often highly tenuous — has decided to reaffirm that its primary responsibility is the maintenance of international peace and security and has emphasized that its job is to ensure the effective functioning of the collective security system established by the Charter, which, as we are all aware, has been sorely tested of late. I wish, however, to add straight away that this solid reaffirmation has not been followed up in any tangible way by action, since the Council's incursions into the areas set aside for other organs of the United Nations, far from ceasing, are continuing apace.

In the same way, I can only welcome the fact that the Council has deemed it timely to reaffirm its dedication to the principles of the sovereign equality, national sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States, which we cherish all the more that some seem to wish to call them into question in the name of an improperly understood globalization and poorly defined humanitarian interference.

While in the past I may have sometimes heatedly voiced here the frustration or even the anger of Africa at the Council's lack of urgency in involving itself in the settlement of African conflicts, I am now duty-bound by truth to note that, in recent times, this organ has been directing ever-greater attention to African issues. To be sure — and this is due in part not only to the complexity of certain issues, but also, we must say, to the hesitations or ulterior motives of certain Council members — such involvement sometimes comes too late, as we saw in the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and is sometimes inappropriate or insufficiently effective, as in Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In both cases, however, there has been a visible improvement and genuine political will.

Having delivered this encomium, I feel that the Council — which, it can never be stressed enough, is supposed to act on behalf of the States Members of the Organization and not of its own members alone — could, in order to make its actions more effective and better targeted, rely more heavily on those who are familiar with the territory and its problems: the African members of the Council, the countries of the region, the Organization of African Unity and, of course, the African or non-African troop-contributing countries.

In this respect, the recent adoption of a declaration defining modalities of cooperation for the troop-contributing countries in conflict management should be duly recognized as an achievement of the Council. We should also credit the Council with the establishment of a working group on peacekeeping operations; the debates that have been held on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and on peace-building; and the declarations that sanctioned them.

While the African leaders have made an effort to work for the settlement of the conflicts battering the continent — as witnessed by the accords of Lusaka, Lomé and Algiers — the Council must not consider itself released from its responsibilities in that field. Indeed, its role remains vital and its contribution irreplaceable.

In fact, by contributing to the conclusion of peace agreements — be it as an observer, as was the case with the negotiations which led to the Algiers agreement — the United Nations can, in a more orderly and effective manner, monitor the respective implementation of said agreements.

Some of the mistakes made in Sierra Leone could have, for example, been avoided. But the humiliation suffered in that country last year served to highlight other gaps and major shortcomings and ultimately will have been useful, because the Council now is working to see that the mandates of the forces are more clearly defined and that the forces themselves are in a better position to provide for their own security and, when possible, that of the civilian populations where they are deployed.

The searing and unbearable spectacle of Blue Helmets taken as hostages also triggered a real awakening regarding the need to strengthen the credibility and the authority of the Organization, and in particular of the Council, around which the system of collective security has been built — a system to which we attach the greatest of importance, because it represents for us a bastion against the misuse of force and the guarantee of the dominance of the rule of law in relations among nations.

This is, moreover, the reason that we advocate a Security Council that fully shoulders its responsibilities, which is vigilant in enforcing respect for international legality and, above all, for its own resolutions — as was rightly recalled here by our Secretary-General — and the scrupulous and faithful implementation of peace agreements and settlement plans agreed upon by the parties to a conflict, and in particular when it has formally endorsed them. We advocate a Security Council that is always on the side of the victim and against the aggressor and the occupier and which holds fast against those who do respect their international commitments and who choose, either deliberately or counting on a war of attrition, a policy of delays and procrastination in order to perpetuate a fait accompli and shirk their obligations.

It is also for this reason that we are calling for a comprehensive reform of the Council, both in terms of its membership and its methods of work, to endow it with ever-greater legitimacy, representativity and effectiveness, given the new challenges resulting from international transformations and today's realities.

Before concluding, I should like to express my satisfaction at seeing that some countries which had been somewhat indifferent to peacekeeping operations in Africa have participated in the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Here I would like to urge the non-African Powers not to give up on the problems of Africa, which is facing complex and numerous challenges with a determination that is equalled only by its faith in a future which inevitably will be better, and to provide their support to help it in that recovery to which it is committed and to treat it as an equal and respected partner.

Indeed, the initiative launched recently by Presidents Bouteflika, Mbeki and Obasanjo, designed to set up a partnership for African renewal, specifically is based on the firm conviction of those leaders that Africa must rely first of all on itself to settle any and all of its problems and that a genuine partnership with the developed countries based on mutual interests and shared commitments would make a decisive contribution to the recovery of Africa.

In conclusion, once again I should like to express to you, Sir, my gratitude for having made it possible to hold an open debate on this declaration, which is the result of the deliberations of the members of the Council and whose implementation is, by definition, a long-term undertaking. I hope that, for my part, I have made a useful contribution to it.

The President: I should like to note in particular the important remarks made by the representative of

Algeria. Of course, it is the primary responsibility of the Security Council to act promptly and in a timely manner to address crises in Africa.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Aboulgheit (Egypt) *(spoke in Arabic)*: I would like at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month, and to extend to you our thanks for organizing this important meeting devoted to evaluating the progress achieved towards implementing the summit declaration adopted by the Council last September on ensuring an effective role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly in Africa.

Your deliberations on this important subject — with the participation of non-member States — will undoubtedly be for us all an opportunity to take stock of the Council's effectiveness in addressing the various challenges it faces and its response to the changing and complex nature which currently characterizes many of the armed conflicts threatening international peace and security. Furthermore, this debate might enable us to agree on the steps that could be taken to enhance the role and performance of the Council in this field, taking into account the fact that the Council discharges its responsibilities on behalf of all of the States Members of the Organization, as stipulated in Article 24 of the Charter.

The declaration adopted by the Council addressed, in its various components, a number of subjects to which Egypt attaches special importance and which are of interest to other Member States. Given that time may not allow us to address all of these subjects, I would like to confine my comments to the following points, which my delegation deems especially important.

First, the declaration reaffirmed the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security, in accordance with the Charter, and affirmed its determination to give equal priority to all regions of the world while paying special importance to the needs of Africa. We have in the past seen that the Council is indeed capable of swiftly and decisively responding to crises that erupt outside Africa, namely in East Timor and Kosovo. We have also seen that the Council has gradually shed its hesitation in addressing crises that erupt on the African continent, as we witnessed in Sierra Leone when the conflict resumed in May last year, in Ethiopia and Eritrea when the two parties signed the peace agreement in Algiers last December, and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, when the Ceasefire Agreement was on the verge of collapsing.

In this context, the delegation of Egypt — like other African delegations — was somewhat optimistic about the seriousness of the Council in addressing African questions and the many armed conflicts raging throughout its territory, and we had hoped that the Council's swift response to the crisis in Sierra Leone would represent the rule and not the exception for what we expected the Council's role in the African Continent to be.

Regrettably, however, we feel that there remains a wide gap between what the Council promises to do in Africa on the one hand, and the concrete steps it takes to resolve the conflicts raging across the continent and to address the causes that lead to their continuation on the other. Hence, the ongoing crisis on the borders between Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia is spiraling and threatens to erupt into a regional conflict, the repercussions of which no one can foresee. The Somali crisis remains unresolved, and we have yet to see the necessary enthusiasm on the part of the Council to seize upon the positive developments that have resulted from the Arta conference in order to support the ongoing peace and reconciliation efforts.

Secondly, aside from the situation in Africa and what we expect from the Council in that continent, we cannot speak about the Council's role in the maintenance of international peace and security without expressing our regret at the Council's approach to the crisis that has affected the Middle East since 28 September, especially given the fact that it began to explode only three weeks after the Security Council summit and the adoption of the Declaration we are examining today.

Despite its diligence in continuously reminding us of the need to respect human rights, uphold the rule of law and prosecute those responsible for crimes against humanity and for violations of international humanitarian law, the Council failed to discharge its responsibility towards the defenceless Palestinian people and to put an end to the blatant aggression by the Israeli occupation forces. As long as the Council

persists in failing to address the Palestinian question and in disregarding Israel's systematic and grave violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention, the Council's credibility will continue to decline and its pledge to give equal priority to all regions of the world will remain a hollow and meaningless one.

Thirdly, the Council affirmed its determination in the Declaration adopted at the summit to take a number of specific measures to enhance the capabilities of the Organization in the field of peacekeeping. While we welcome the attention the Council has given — especially since the submission of the Brahimi report — to enhancing its performance in those areas falling within its purview and responsibility in a manner that helps to meet the new prerequisites imposed by the complex nature of armed conflicts that the United Nations is asked to settle or contribute to their resolution, we also feel that there are a number of shortcomings that require credible action on the part of the Council.

Whereas the Council pledged to adopt clearly defined, credible and appropriate mandates for its peacekeeping operations, we have recently noted that Security Council resolution 1341 (2001), on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), was inconsistent with all of the above. Instead of being encouraged by the positive circumstances, the Council opted to reduce the military component of the operation, curtailing its tasks, while at the same time entertaining the hope that it would contribute to the achievement of peace and stability in a country that is larger than Western Europe and on whose territory six African armies, three rebel groups and a handful of armed groups are fighting.

Fourthly, the Council also expressed its determination to enhance consultations with troop contributors when it formulates peacekeeping operation mandates. While the Egyptian delegation welcomes the steps taken by the Council in this area to improve its relationship with those countries that provide and sometimes sacrifice their personnel to implement the tasks adopted by the Council, it continues to call for the establishment and institutionalization of methods of consultation between the troop-contributing countries and the Council at all stages of formulating mandates for peacekeeping operation and in all steps taken by the Council to revise, review, extend or terminate these mandates and the tasks that accompany them.

In this context, my delegation is also mindful of the fact that the primary purpose we must all strive to achieve must go beyond merely listening to or exchanging views with troop-contributing countries, even if this were to be done in the formalized and institutionalized manner we call for. What is needed is for the measures that we may agree on to enhance the relationship between troop-contributing countries and the Council involve those countries in the decision-making process in the Council at all stages of establishing, deploying and terminating peacekeeping operations, especially when the matter pertains to authorizing the use of force, as stipulated in Article 44 of the Charter.

Fifthly, the Declaration adopted by the heads of State and Government of the Members of the Council contained a pledge to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations in addressing conflicts at all stages: from prevention to settlement to post-conflict peace-building. We have indeed witnessed in the past growing awareness on the part of the Council of the fact that the resolution of various conflicts cannot succeed without removing the root causes leading to the emergence and continuation of those conflicts and that peace cannot develop in an environment plagued by poverty, unemployment, economic stagnation and social fragmentation.

In this context, we welcome the deliberations and resolutions emanating from the Council on these issues, taking into account that the desired outcome must enhance coordination and congruence among all efforts exerted by the relevant organs and agencies of the United Nations to avert the eruption of conflicts or to settle them or to ensure that they don't resurface. Of course, the required coordination of these activities must be based on consideration of and respect for the competence of these organs and agencies, each in its own field and each in accordance with the legislative mandate under which it functions.

In conclusion, allow me to address one final issue to which the Egyptian delegation attaches great importance, although it was not reflected in the Declaration adopted by the Council summit, but which received substantial attention in the summit debate. I am referring to the issue of sanctions. At that meeting we noticed a growing trend calling for ending the unrestricted use of sanctions as a tool to which the Council can resort in order to induce changes in the behaviour or actions of a given State or regime. We

have also seen instances recently in which the Council has imposed sanctions that included a number of controls that should be formally institutionalized. Most important in that regard is establishing a specific time-frame for the duration of the sanctions and specific mechanisms for their lifting. In this context, we hope that the Millennium Declaration, in which the heads of State and Government of all Member States pledged to minimize the adverse effects of economic sanctions on innocent, civilian populations, to subject sanctions regimes to regular reviews and to eliminate the adverse effects of sanctions on third parties, will be adhered to. We particularly hope that the Security Council will consistently adhere to the provisions of Article 50 of the Charter and apply it without discrimination or politicization.

The President: I thank the representative of Egypt for his statement. Indeed, he made a number of very practical and action-oriented remarks that must be taken into account in the future work of the Council.

I would like to note, *inter alia*, his important comments with regard to the mechanism of consultations with troop-contributing countries. As a matter of fact, those comments are very similar to what was said earlier by the representative of Canada. It will be very important for the Council to take these comments into account, in view of the ongoing work in the Council Working Group on peacekeeping operations.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Australia. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement.

Ms. Wensley (Australia): Thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this open debate, as well as for the gesture of having non-Council members speak before members. As the saying goes, one swallow does not a summer make. But, as we have now had at least two swallows, perhaps, if summer is not with us, then spring in the form of further Security Council reform may be just around the corner.

Speaking at the Millennium Summit last year, the Australian Prime Minister, John Howard, observed that for nations, as for individuals, no rights come without responsibility, and no prosperity comes without price. My own country has made its contribution to paying the price of international peace and security. It has participated willingly and, we would like to believe, effectively in more than 30 peacekeeping and peace-monitoring operations in the years since the foundation of the United Nations. Our decision to participate in today's stocktaking debate is a further practical expression of our commitment.

We were heartened to see the same commitment expressed by the leaders of the world's nations in the Security Council and General Assembly millennium resolutions, encouraging the United Nations to strengthen and modernize its role in maintaining international peace and security. We were also particularly pleased to see the recognition of the ever-growing complexity of the issues that affect international peace and security, including, as spelled out in Security Council resolution 1318 (2000), issues of HIV/AIDS, which are to be taken up this year during the special session of the General Assembly, in which my Government is playing a particular role, as well as the issues of the development of international criminal law and of small-arms trafficking.

With regard to HIV/AIDS, I want to draw the attention of members to a forthcoming ministerial meeting on HIV/AIDS and development in the Asia-Pacific region, which will be hosted by Australia in Melbourne in October. This meeting is being organized as a separate but complementary part of the 6th International Congress on AIDS in Asia and the Pacific. It will seek to strengthen action being taken to address this issue in our region. Given the words of the Secretary-General at the beginning of our debate in particular, we see this as a concrete, practical follow-up to the decisions taken at the Millennium Summit.

I want to take this opportunity to express Australia's support for the principles, as well as the decisions, contained in last September's summit resolution, and to welcome warmly the recent activities of the Council in moving them forward. Specifically, we are very pleased by the establishment by the Council of a working group on peacekeeping whose mandate includes enhancing consultations with troop-contributing countries. We listened carefully to the remarks of our colleagues about this, and see it as a good start to a process that is clearly going to be developed and refined as we continue to have more and more meetings.

Secondly, we were very pleased to see last month's open debate on peace-building and the Secretary-General's consultations with regional organizations. Thirdly, we are pleased about the action

taken to support the commitment made in the Council declaration on preventing the flow of small arms into areas of conflict. This is a problem of particular resonance in our South Pacific region.

Australia is currently the sixth-largest contributor of United Nations peacekeeping personnel and, as I indicated at the outset, has a longstanding commitment to United Nations peacekeeping. This is reflected in our current contribution to East Timor and our participation in United Nations missions in Africa and the Middle East. However, we believe that our contribution to peacekeeping and to the peaceful resolution of conflicts also extends to regional efforts. These are not United Nations operations, but we consider that they have made a contribution to the efforts of the United Nations with respect to the protection of international peace and security because, by our regional efforts, we have made a United Nations operation unnecessary. I am referring in particular to the Peace Monitoring Group on Bougainville and the International Peace Monitoring Team in the Solomon Islands, both of which are assisting in a very real way in building confidence and providing the conditions on the ground necessary for bringing the various parties in conflict together to resolve their differences. We keep the United Nations very closely informed about these operations, and we see a real value in continuing dialogue and interaction as we work in the region to deal with these conflicts.

We think that this demonstrates very concretely our commitment to burden-sharing. Having demonstrated our own willingness over many years to contribute to United Nations and international peacekeeping, often far from our shores, we believe that, from time to time, we can reasonably look to others to share the burden of peacekeeping in our own immediate region.

The Brahimi report on United Nations peace operations provides us all with the opportunity to bring about major and much-needed changes in the way the United Nations carries out its responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. We welcome the action taken to date, including the increase in personnel granted to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) late last year. We express strong support for the current review of DPKO. It is essential that its strategic and planning capacity can be strengthened.

However, in our view, work on implementation is really only in the first phase; much remains to be done to give effect to many worthwhile aspects of the report. Despite differences of opinion on the detail of some of the report's recommendations, we urge all countries to join together in working to address and resolve the problems it identifies, in particular, issues such as rapid force deployment capacity, regular financing mechanisms, post-conflict management, peace-building programmes and the training of personnel.

I want to make particular mention of East Timor, because we would argue that the success of the United Nations operations in East Timor has underlined the critical importance, in designing and implementing United Nations operations, of strong support from Member States, and an appropriate, clear and decisive mandate, as well as a clear exit strategy. In this respect, we welcome the useful open Council debate in November last year on exit strategies. We note the major effect on the credibility of the United Nations of how an operation is conducted and concluded, and we hope that in time the operation in East Timor will be a model in this respect.

In its resolution, the Council also stressed the need to bring to justice perpetrators of crimes against humanity, genocide, war crimes and other serious violations of humanitarian law. I would like to say that Australia, like Sweden — whose representative, our colleague, spoke earlier — has always had a strong commitment to the development of international criminal law, in particular as expressed through our support for the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda, as well as for the establishment of the International Criminal Court. The establishment of an International Criminal Court with the capacity to deal with the most serious crimes of concern to the international community has been a longstanding goal of Australia and one which we continue to support strongly, particularly through the current work being undertaken in the Preparatory Commission for the International Criminal Court.

We see a real linkage between the Security Council resolution and other decisions coming from the Summit, and maintaining the momentum of the International Criminal Court negotiations. It is a significant element in following up the Millennium Summit. The International Criminal Court will make a significant contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

This year's United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects will also provide us with another opportunity to follow up on the Millennium Summit and to address the problem of the illicit small arms trade through practical, concrete measures.

The extensive work already undertaken in this area by African countries, as well as in some other regions and subregions, provides us with important building blocks for more concerted and coordinated international action. In our own region, Pacific Island Forum countries are also working actively to address the small arms issue, including through the development of model legislation to facilitate implementation of a common regional approach to weapons control. In the Association of South-East Asian Nations Regional Forum, Australia has also encouraged efforts to develop a coordinated approach to the issue, in particular the adoption of a declaration of responsibilities on small arms and light weapons.

I have mentioned all of those issues because we see them as giving practical concrete expression to those principles that were spelled out in the Millennium Summit resolutions and decisions.

The Millennium Summit and the Millennium Declaration, together with the extensive work undertaken by the United Nations on redefining and modernizing how the Organization operates, provide an opportunity that should not be missed to review United Nations operations so that they can better meet the complex and difficult challenges that the global community faces. This debate has provided us all with an early opportunity to review what we are doing to implement the commitments that we made jointly. I chose to highlight a few areas that my Government judges to be particularly important, where we are focusing our attention and where one will not find Australia wanting in either commitment or action in contributing to the way forward.

Finally, like my Egyptian colleague, I would like to raise one final point that was not in the Security Council document, but that we would like to see inform and infuse the work of the Council as it implements its decisions: the question of gender awareness. As we are sitting here in this Council, the annual meeting of the Commission on the Status of Women is taking place. Tomorrow is International Women's Day. I think that it is appropriate in the present circumstances, as the Council members collectively and the Member States consider how they can give practical effect to all of the decisions and the priorities that were identified at the Millennium Summit, that they not forget the vital element of gender awareness and work actively to ensure that there is a gender perspective contained in all follow-up actions.

The President: Let me highlight the representative of Australia's important appeal to all countries to overcome their differences and to pool their efforts in order to speed up the implementation of recommendations on strengthening the United Nations peacekeeping operations.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Fonseca (Brazil): I join previous speakers in thanking you, Mr. President, for convening this open debate.

The declaration adopted by the Security Council summit reaffirms at the highest level a comprehensive set of goals and commitments. As many speakers have remarked before me, some progress in specific areas has been achieved in the implementation of the goals of the summit. Nevertheless, we are still faced with the need to work to translate some of its commitments into real and effective action.

Let me start with a general comment. In theory we all have a fairly good idea of what would be necessary to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations activities in the field of peace and security. The short answer to this question is that the Security Council must be able to prevent conflicts, it must be able to react promptly to conflicts that erupt, and it must have the necessary capacity to help in the efforts of post-conflict peace-building.

But why are we so far away from that ideal scenario? Is it because the members of the Council are lacking a common perception for action? Is it because the instruments available are inadequate to deal with the complexities of contemporary conflicts? Is it a political problem? Is it because the Secretariat suffers from chronic insufficiency of resources? Do we have a technical or a bureaucratic problem? Or is it an intellectual problem? Are we missing ideas on how to act? I am sorry for adding questions to the Council's

questions, especially because I do not have a clear answer to my questions.

But perhaps the answer is a combination of these factors, and that is why the issue remains so elusive, requiring a renewed determination on our part to tackle these challenges. This is even more so in view of the ever-growing gap between the demands placed on the Organization and the material resources available.

Let me go to a few specific points now. The first one is the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations. The Brahimi report made many useful recommendations, and we are glad that some of them have already been approved. Its consideration by the Security Council and the General Assembly was perhaps complicated by a possible misperception. In our view, the recommendations of the report were not intended to assert a degree of autonomy for the Secretariat in the planning of peacekeeping operations, but rather to increase its capacity to better serve the Organization and fulfil its responsibilities. An increased capacity does not necessarily mean enhanced autonomy, if the mandates approved by the Security Council are clear and achievable, with a visible sense of political direction.

But we all know that even the best-crafted decision of the Council will not yield the expected results if there is no adequate means for its implementation. There must be a genuine commitment to peacekeeping. The permanent members of the Council should be the first ones to ensure troops and financial resources for the peacekeeping missions they mandate. They must take full responsibility for their own decisions and must be prepared to assume the costs implied.

The second point is conflict prevention. It is said that successful prevention does not win votes, but failed intervention loses buckets of them. We all recognize the importance of conflict prevention and the urgent need to enhance the United Nations instruments in this area. But conflict prevention is perhaps the most daunting task of all, given the high complexity and singular nature of each conflict situation. Therefore, there is no uniform recipe for conflict prevention, and each situation requires a distinct approach. In certain cases prevention means highly visible actions. In other instances, discreet efforts are the key to incremental gains. Moreover, conflict prevention in many cases is a continuous undertaking. Kosovo and Angola are in this respect emblematic of the challenges involved. Another difficulty stems from the fact that the acceptance of preventive action by the United Nations often entails a certain dilemma for the authorities of a country torn by conflict.

The third point is peace-building. The Secretary-General rightly reminded us that peace-building is about the resumption of economic activity, the rejuvenation of institutions, the restoration of basic services, the reconstruction of clinics and schools, the revamping of public administration and the resolution of differences through dialogue, not violence.

This is an enormous task, one that we all recognize is well beyond the responsibilities of the Security Council alone. It requires strong political will and commitment on the part of both the recipient country and the donor community. Coordination is absolutely a key element.

As in many other questions, here the record of our efforts is also mixed. We were able to achieve much in Mozambique for instance, and good efforts are under way in Guinea-Bissau. But the system has yet to deliver in Haiti despite the continuous efforts of the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the United Nations Development Programme and bilateral donors.

Peace-building efforts are necessary to ensure that institutional mechanisms are in place to deal with political differences and to quell potential conflicts that would otherwise re-emerge in the context of poverty, inequality and the absence of the rule of law. We continue to hold that putting in place the mechanisms to allow a smooth transition from peacekeeping to peace-building requires the necessary involvement of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly.

Another important point to stress is the urgent need for Security Council reform. There is a deep frustration within the entire membership with the fact that the Working Group of the General Assembly has been discussing this issue for almost eight years now, without concrete results.

We cannot underestimate the negative impact of this situation. The Council cannot continue to be perceived as an anachronistic body, both in its methods

of work and composition. This is detrimental to the Council's authority, which we must always preserve.

The effectiveness of the Council's role hinges largely on the assumption that it represents all members of the United Nations. We must therefore redouble our efforts to reach agreement on all pending aspects of reform so as to ensure that the Council is more transparent, democratic, representative and accountable. It is therefore disappointing to note that the issue of the composition and reform of the Security Council failed to appear in the declaration approved by Council's summit in September.

The President: I thank the representative of Brazil for his statement, and in particular for his important comments on the role of conflict prevention and peace-building.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Pakistan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Khalid (Pakistan): I would like to begin by congratulating you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are very happy to see you presiding over this debate today and to give non-members of the Council an opportunity to share our views.

Although the debate that you have convened today is an important one, Mr. President, I would like to begin by recording our reservations to elements of the appendix that you have circulated in the working paper contained in document S/2001/185. That appendix contains certain views that are held by individual Member States — and not by the entire membership of the United Nations — and that carry no consensus support in either the General Assembly or in the Security Council. Those views do not in any way constructively contribute to the important questions that you have raised, Mr. President. Moreover, their inclusion threatens to detract from the main issues that we must address. We would have preferred that the appendix had been omitted in the first place. In our view, the Security Council is not a debating club, and it must not be reduced to one. Its main functions are to maintain international peace and security, and that should remain its central focus.

This function of the Council is clearly spelled out in the Charter, which carefully delineates the scope of work of its various organs. Peace remains the essential feature of the Security Council's responsibilities. Those responsibilities include conflict prevention, dispute resolution, peace-making, conflict management, peacekeeping and peace-building. These are the pillars on which the Security Council's edifice is built. Ignoring any one of those pillars enormously weakens its standing. Adding on new areas of interest that are not included in its Charter responsibilities reduces its effectiveness. I hope you will agree with me that by not implementing its own resolutions, the Council undermines its own credibility. Addressing symptoms and not root causes becomes an exercise in futility. Holding international peace and security hostage to national interests does a disservice to both this body and to the United Nations as a whole. The unrealistic and self-defeating approach of leaving disputes to be dealt with at the bilateral and regional levels raises for us the question of why we must have a Security Council in the first place.

Indeed, the Security Council has clearly neglected its key obligations. Some of those have only been honoured in their selective applications, and others in their complete omission. That is why we are still burdened with "forgotten" conflicts — the unfinished business of the Council — that are still consistently ignored. The issue of Jammu and Kashmir is a reminder of one of the oldest outstanding disputes before this Council. It is also the only dispute that the Council has chosen not to revisit since the early 1950s. Since then, in spite of two wars and a struggle that has cost the lives of tens of thousands of Kashmiris and turned the region into a nuclear flashpoint, the Security Council continues to ignore the problem.

The Council has an obligation to address the Kashmir issue with a view to resolving it in accordance with its own resolutions and the aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. What the oppressed and long-suffering people of Kashmir yearn for is the realization of their legitimate right to self-determination as laid down in the resolutions of this very body. This is for us the litmus test not only of the Council's effectiveness, but also of its *raison d'être*.

We, of course, also appreciate the efforts the Council has been making to try to be more interactive with non-members. We are pleased to note that the Council itself has taken a number of positive steps in that direction. We welcome in particular the steps taken by the Council to promote greater cooperation between it and troop-contributing countries. While we laud such

measures, we feel that more progress is needed to ensure increased accessibility to, and transparency in, the Council. The tremendous gap that exists between the Council's actual obligations and its real achievements needs to be narrowed.

What is required from the Council are not idealistic debates or holistic pronouncements, but political will and concerted action. However, too often global objectives of international peace and security are held hostage to the dictates of the national interests of a few. In many cases in the Council, the lack of political will is itself a political decision, and inaction the most politically expedient option. This is unacceptable. If there is any need at all for reform in the Security Council, it is to address that alarming practice.

Any reform of the Council must therefore strengthen the inclusive and participatory character of the Organization, in keeping with the principle of the sovereign equality of States. It must be aimed at reducing the anomalies of the past, not at accentuating them or at creating distortions.

The Security Council must carefully weigh its actions so as to mitigate any adverse impact on humanitarian situations. We must learn from history, not repeat it.

There is no justification for the creation of new centres of privilege at the expense of the rest of the membership. The veto remains the primary obstacle to a truly democratic Security Council. What little justification may have existed for such a mechanism at the end of Second World War is clearly no longer valid. The veto is not only obsolete, it is also contrary to contemporary trends — one need only recall the resounding, spontaneous applause that the President of Venezuela received in the General Assembly Hall during the Millennium Summit when he called for the democratization of the Security Council and the elimination of the veto. That was an expression of the general will of the membership of the Organization.

We firmly believe that the current global trends to promote democracy, participation, transparency and accountability should also form the basis for the reform of the Security Council.

The President: I thank the representative of Pakistan for his statement. Indeed, he reminded the Council of some acute issues related to its activities and functions.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Peru. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Picasso (Peru) *(spoke in Spanish)*: Let my first words be to congratulate you for assuming the direction of the Security Council during the month of March, a task that has begun in a highly auspicious manner. My delegation wishes to thank you, first of all, for the opportunity to take part in this important meeting that is a follow-up to the conclusions reached in the Security Council in its meeting at the level of heads of State last September on ensuring an effective role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security.

In recent years Peru has followed very closely how matters relating to the maintenance of peace have been dealt with in the Organization. The discussion and reflection have touched upon subjects that deal with the conceptualization of the basic elements, such as the establishment and definition of new criteria and bases for action now that conflicts have become more complex and peacekeeping operations have a different scope.

Along these lines, my country has observed with interest the reaffirmation of basic concepts such as the unrestricted respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence. These principles are included in Security Council resolution 1318 (2000), the contents of which Peru supports and encourages. In this same sense, my country has welcomed, among other aspects, the efforts to secure greater participation by troop-contributing countries. This is both a logical practical measure and just recognition of those States that are involved in the most difficult and risky phase of the peacekeeping operations.

Nevertheless, my delegation has also viewed with concern the fact that the new principles and criteria for action in the collective security system of the Organization — which include, inter alia, the redefinition of the content, scope and mandate of peacekeeping operations and the conceptual expansion of the causes of the conflicts — have been the fruit of a process of reflection and decision exclusively within the Security Council. This has left and continues to leave the great majority of States outside the debate on the configuration of the new international order in

these matters. Peru also has doubts about the relevance of many of the new themes being discussed in the Security Council which naturally fall under the competence of other forums and bodies of the Organization.

Your delegation, Mr. President, has wished to delimit this debate through a useful document that includes precise and direct questions on the work of the Security Council. It has attached an equally important annex that compiles initiatives and comments presented in the Security Council summit meeting. This section demonstrates what is known by all, and this is that in many areas of discussion relating to peace and security there is not yet a clear consensus on the conceptualization of terms and principles of action. This requirement for consensus, in our opinion, becomes essential for shaping clear rules and criteria which will, in their turn, gain the necessary support and consent of the States of the United Nations and prevent the imposition of concepts that are contrary to the feelings of the majority.

In our opinion, there is no other body within the system, aside from the General Assembly, that because of its universal nature is capable of creating the required consensus and can rely on a genuine capacity to contribute and support this. Peru considers that the Security Council has not yet conducted a broad review of, nor given adequate consideration to, the important role that the General Assembly can play in the reinforcement of its own role as a means of unifying common action criteria with regard to international peace and security.

This participation becomes even more obvious when the matters to be debated are superimposed on its natural sphere of action. For example, we would like to emphasize, in this first aspect, that the strategies developed to handle the causes of conflicts — which include concepts such as poverty and underdevelopment — imply in themselves consideration in and participation by the General Assembly, as well as a dialogue with the Security Council to determine a clear form of interaction. We emphasize the interventions of some members of the Security Council in the debate last September, when they stated that not all causes of conflict should be addressed by the Security Council but that its function should be to participate with the relevant bodies of the Organization in drafting general strategies for cooperation. This same idea must be present with regard to the expansion sought by some States of the concept of security that would involve health, environment and human rights matters.

Peru would also like to recall the full capacity and relevance of the General Assembly for consideration, reflection and recommendation in the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with Articles 10, 11 and 14 of the Charter. They grant it a capacity for recommendation in situations of a threat to peace, the breach of peace and aggression. The limit on its action is the imposition of coercive measures under Chapter VII. This interpretation has been consolidated with the principle of the subsequent practice of the General Assembly through resolutions that are parallel and complementary to those of the Security Council and even, at times, performing functions of this body.

In this regard, my delegation considers that the Assembly is fully empowered to become an important participant in the establishment of the new international collective security. This is all the more true since there are several subjects that await a clear definition, such as preventive action, several aspects of peace-building and many areas within the framework of the peacekeeping operations. We do not need to say that the Assembly's presence is indispensable when dealing with matters linked to its natural capacity for action that we have referred to.

My delegation is convinced that only a higher level of dialogue and cooperation between the Security Council and the General Assembly will permit the obtaining of results that will offer a positive and successful answer to the questions pointed out in the document prepared for this meeting.

My country wishes to focus on an important aspect which, even though it was not considered in resolution 1318 (2000), nevertheless underlies, in a fundamental and vital way, the entire problem of the effective role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, in a relationship that will allow the Council to act with the consensus and support of all States of the Organization, in the context of the current crisis of credibility that it is facing, as was indicated by the Secretary-General in the meeting which we are following up at this time. The Peruvian delegation would like to conclude its intervention by summarizing its position as follows.

First, there is the need to restore the nature of the General Assembly as a forum for debates and broad and pluralistic discussion of subjects relating to international peace and security.

Second, there is the need to engage in dialogue and an exchange of ideas between the Security Council and the General Assembly to permit the development of a clear legal framework with precise rules and criteria, in accordance with the Charter of the Organization. This would be in line with the new concepts of collective international security and with the political independence of States as central actors in international relations and that ensure their effective participation in its implementation.

Thirdly, the basis of this participation is found by ensuring general support for the representational nature and legitimacy of the General Assembly while the current composition, rules of procedures and methods of work of the Security Council are open to question. These make it the most appropriate forum for the search for consensus on items of common interest and application.

Lastly, there is a need to promote a new concept of collective security based on reciprocal trust, mutual respect, legal equality and cooperation.

The President: I note the useful remarks of the representative of Peru on the important issue of dialogue and cooperation between the Security Council and the General Assembly.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Croatia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Šimonović (Croatia): It gives me special pleasure to greet our former colleague, Volodymyr Yel'chenko, in his capacity as President of the Security Council, on the occasion of this open debate, and to take part in this follow-up of the recent Security Council summit.

The Security Council summit was a monumental event in many respects. Besides its symbolic value, it certainly brought us closer to a shared vision to ensure an effective role of the Security Council in the maintenance of peace and security in each and every region of the world. Building on that momentum in a series of open debates and through several actions of the Council in the past six months, we have reaffirmed repeatedly our conviction that the United Nations remains indispensable to safeguarding world peace.

We have reaffirmed the importance of timely, competent and otherwise effective peacekeeping, which has increasingly acquired ever more complex formats. The troop-contributing countries that shoulder the greater share of peacekeeping in the field told the Council in January what they need to carry out their duties as they are expected and called upon to do, as did the Member States on the issue of women, peace and security last October. Also, just last month we moved closer to outlining a comprehensive strategy for peace-building. Throughout these debates, we said again and again that we need all the political will, mutual trust and bureaucratic capacity to act upon the very causes of conflicts in a timely and effective manner in order to prevent their occurrence or recurrence.

For the time being, Africa should remain the special focus of the Security Council, the entire United Nations system and the regional organizations, but frozen conflicts in other regions should not be underestimated either. Given the extent of poverty and the spread of infectious diseases, which are occurring there at a greater scale than elsewhere, the need for a convergence of the peace and development agendas figures prominently, particularly in Africa. No development can be sustained without peace or without people. Investments in peace thus encompass investments in health, education and environment, as well as in human rights and good governance.

As an advocate for and guarantor of peace, the Security Council must use its visibility and its prestige to consult with and augment the efforts of the United Nations bodies principally charged with furthering the world development agenda. In this regard, great importance should be attached to the substantive cooperation between the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

The President: I thank the representative of Croatia for his kind words addressed to me. One specific point from his intervention that I would like to underline relates to the importance of the Council's not forgetting the so-called frozen conflicts on its agenda.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Namibia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Andjaba (Namibia): I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and I wish to commend Ambassador Ben Mustapha of Tunisia for the able manner in which he presided over the work of the Council in February.

I further wish to thank you and your delegation for convening this important follow-up meeting to the historic and precedent-setting meeting of the Security Council last September, and we thank the Secretary-General for his important statement this morning. Your initiative is further commendable since the United Nations is often criticized of being a talk shop, and follow-up action like today's can go a long way towards correcting that image. Regular review of the Council's decisions is one way to ensure that it becomes more effective in fulfilling its mandate.

When the Security Council, at the level of heads of State and Government, adopted resolution 1318 (2000), it made a number of important commitments aimed at ensuring an effective role for itself in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly in Africa. Principal among these commitments was the pledge by the Council to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which should be respected at all times. This review, six months later, proves that, while some progress has been made, the Security Council still needs to be much more responsive to and proactive towards the challenges facing it today.

Since the focus of this meeting is on Africa, I shall deal with that first. In that region, the root causes of conflict remain poverty and underdevelopment, and the Council should continue to further strengthen its coordination with regional and subregional organizations that have direct knowledge of the reality of certain issues in order to develop integrated responses to conflicts which address both peace and security and sustainable development.

The Council was unfortunately found lacking in political will with regard to peacemaking and peacekeeping efforts in certain conflicts. On the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the peace process is moving forward at the moment thanks to the commitment of the parties to the conflict. However, it is our view that progress could have been achieved earlier had the Council not at times adopted a wait-and-see approach. While the Council's adoption of resolution 1341 (2001) is welcomed, this reaction from the Council is minimalist, despite the excellent conditions for peace. A question mark remains as to whether the agreed numbers of military personnel will be sufficient to effectively deal with the situation, given the size of the country and the enormity and complexity of the conflict.

A further positive point is that the Council has shown continued commitment to cutting off UNITA's resources, which enable it to wage war against the Angolan people. In this regard, the extension in January of the mandate of the Monitoring Mechanism was welcome, but the Council also needs to take appropriate measures against sanctions violators. Sanctions remain a viable tool for the Council to enforce its decisions. However, in some cases the effectiveness of sanctions is questionable and they have caused untenable hardship to civilians. In cases like these, sanctions need to be eased or lifted so as not to prolong the agony of the affected people.

Another criticism frequently leveled against the Security Council is that it practices selectivity in dealing with conflict situations. Unfortunately, if one looks at the continuing tragedy in the occupied Palestinian territories, it is hard to argue against such criticism. The military onslaught and economic strangulation of the Palestinians continue, with massive human rights and humanitarian rights abuses, while the Security Council does not appear fully committed to stop the violence and to find a lasting solution to the conflict. To restore its credibility, the Council should ensure that its resolutions, such as resolution 1322 (2000), are fully implemented. It also remains an urgent necessity for the Council to establish a United Nations protection force for Palestinian civilians.

An area where the peacemaking efforts of the international community are being frustrated is the situation in Western Sahara. The Security Council must be vigilant and should not accept any attempt to derail the implementation of the United Nations settlement plan. The people of Western Sahara have suffered too much and for too long. They must be allowed to exercise their right to self- determination. This is clearly a case where the Council has to assume its responsibility to ensure that the settlement plan is implemented without any further delay.

The other victims of war are women and children, and the Council has a special responsibility to

safeguard them and to protect their interests. Concrete measures should be taken to ensure a greater role for women in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. Additional efforts and initiatives should be put in place to end the targeting of children in situations of armed conflict, including the recruitment and use of children in armed conflict, in violation of international law. The Council should ensure that all of its resolutions regarding these vulnerable groups are fully implemented.

In conclusion, while the Security Council possesses enough tools, through the Charter of the United Nations, to respond to situations regarding the maintenance of international peace and security, it needs to be continuously vigilant to be able to respond to modern-day challenges, which are not so clear-cut but clearly pose threats to international peace and security. These issues include HIV/AIDS and the effects of poverty. In this regard, it is imperative for the Security Council to reform itself to reflect the will of the wider United Nations membership, so as to strengthen its role, maintain its authority and improve its effectiveness.

The President: I thank the representative in Namibia for his comprehensive intervention. In his statement, he grasped one of the major reasons which prompted this presidency to propose holding the current debate. Indeed, a regular review of the Council's decisions represents an important means for ensuring their practical implementation.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Belarus. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Laptenok (Belarus) (*spoke in Russian*): First of all, Sir, allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council, as Ukraine is a country with which we have special ties.

The Republic of Belarus has, for the last few years, unswervingly emphasized the need for the expansion of the practice of convening high-level meetings of the Security Council, so that the decisions of the Council can be more universal in nature and reflect a policy that has been arrived at collectively.

Like the other participants in this meeting, we would like to thank your delegation, Mr. President, for your timely initiative, which has made it possible for virtually all interested States to participate in the discussion on the preliminary results of the implementation of the summit declaration of the Security Council.

The Council's September summit, which focused attention on Africa, yielded specific ways to strengthen peacekeeping operations. However, unfortunately, despite a number of positive changes, Africa today continues to require the most intensive attention from the Security Council, and not only in the context of peacekeeping operations.

This part of the world has inherited an extremely difficult legacy. In September 2000, a great deal was said to the effect that changing reality can be done only through rapid, collective and effective action. Belarus is evaluating its potential in the area of the effective mobilization of resources. Its specific characteristic is that, as a country located in the centre of Europe, as an integral part of the general European political and economic space, and as a member State of the Non-Aligned Movement, Belarus has a highly developed sense of the needs and requirements of many of our partners in the Non-Aligned Movement which in recent years have been overcome by crisis situations. Among other things, we believe that Belarus still has great unexploited potential to offer in the process of resolving many of the issues considered by the Council.

For that reason, we have decided significantly to expand our participation in the non-military components of peacekeeping operations. The relevant, concrete steps are now being worked out by the highest-level State organs in Belarus. In January 2001, Belarus paid in full all of its assessed contributions with respect to the financing of peacekeeping operations begun after 1 January 1996, and paid in full the sums assessed to the account of the two international tribunals.

We have begun to establish our own basis for readying personnel for participation in peacekeeping operations and are prepared to engage in broad cooperation in this field with all interested parties.

The growing attention that is being devoted by the Security Council to measures to resolve and prevent inter-State and regional conflicts is a product of today's realities. In the light of recent events on the Macedonian-Yugoslav border, the question of whether some issues have remained outside the focus of the

Security Council is not only a rhetorical one. However, from our point of view, the Security Council must continue to focus on the global aspects of security and in particular on disarmament questions. This is in answer to one of the questions raised in the note distributed by your delegation, Mr. President, to this meeting.

The commitment to achieve the elimination of the threats created by weapons of mass destruction was enshrined in the Millennium Declaration. Belarus, as is well known, traditionally has put forward, at sessions of the General Assembly, an initiative for the adoption of a draft resolution prohibiting the creation of new types of weapons of mass destruction and related systems. During the last few years, Belarus has devoted particular attention to practical measures for strengthening regional and global security through nuclear disarmament. From our point of view, such activity reflects clearly the effective contribution of a specific State to strengthening international peace and security and must be duly taken into account by the Council.

An important contribution to halting illicit flows of small arms to regions of conflict will be made by the upcoming international Conference on this problem. This is a step towards improving the peacekeeping activities of the United Nations and of the Security Council. In past years, we participated in an international experts' group on the preparation of the report of the Secretary-General on this problem, an opportunity we were grateful for.

From our point of view, the focus of attention of the Security Council must be, to a greater degree, on issues linked to the fundamental social and economic reasons for conflicts: the prevention of outbreaks of violence; the improvement of principles and mechanisms for the establishment of enforcement measures and in particular of economic sanctions; the strengthening of the democratic basis for the Security Council's decision-making process; and above all the stepping up and strengthening of interaction with the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and other bodies. This was mentioned by previous speakers, and we fully concur.

What are the basic changes that have taken place recently that could help in overcoming, to use the Secretary-General's expression, the crisis of faith in the United Nations and in the Security Council? In our view, we can include the following among the important achievements: further United Nations reform efforts; emphasizing regional forums, including African forums, on the problems of maintenance of peace and international security; extensive discussion on new concepts for peacekeeping operations; and intensive consideration of the mechanism for sanctions, proposals and conclusions of the report of the United Nations Panel on Peace Operations. Many important changes have already been initiated on this basis. The resolution has been adopted based on the Brahimi report and a number of steps have been undertaken to systematize peacekeeping operations sanctioned by the Security Council.

There have been open meetings on issues such as exit strategy, complex approach and others. There has been an increase in the work on sanctions and additional dynamic work on Afghanistan, Angola, Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Steps have been considered to halt international terrorism. These are extremely important steps.

There is also a new scale of contributions and assessments for peacekeeping operations and cooperation by the membership of the various States groups. In many States, inter alia, in Belarus, additional work has been carried out to expand participation in peacekeeping operations.

The list could go on if we looked at the period beginning with the summit. This does not mean that little or much has been done, but more still lies ahead. Unfortunately, after September 2000 many contradictions also remain unresolved, which, to a significant extent, continue to hamper decisions in the Council today. The main question remains: Does the Council always truly have a decisive voice here? The Charter and the role of the Security Council cannot be ignored. In that regard, the events of the last few years, inter alia in the Balkans, have taught us a serious lesson. At the same time, today we are witnesses of another serious escalation in that region.

The draft resolution on Palestine was not adopted and the question on the no-flight zones also remains. A number of very serious problems remain on the Security Council agenda today.

How can we achieve effective implementation of the Council's decisions so that they do not remain on paper alone? Perhaps the decision is not to simply continue discussions on Security Council membership,

but to have this discussion open to all Member States. The President of Belarus has noted that one of the great achievements of the United Nations is the fact that it provides every State, regardless of its size and resources, with an opportunity for equal participation in producing a just and durable peace. We should not look at the primacy of State interests; rather, we should look at many situations in terms of collective interests.

Regarding Security Council reform, virtually all the participants at the summit said there was a need for reform. It was not coincidental that at the September meeting many of the Council members themselves rather bluntly raised the question of reform of this body and of more effective response by the United Nations to conflict situations at all stages, including their social and economic aspects. This coincides with the spirit and approach of the Non-Aligned Movement, which we share, regarding further improvement of Security Council activity and working methods and expansion of its membership.

Undoubtedly, an important conclusion is that the African continent will have to be given the highest priority attention. There have been positive achievements: the Congo and Ethiopia and Eritrea, for example. But the most important thing is the restoration of peace, which has not yet been achieved in many regions. The voice of African States must be taken more seriously into account. We are ready to make our contribution to resolve the problems of Africa, inter alia, through the comprehensive development of our ties with the countries of that continent, insofar as possible by making voluntary contributions to international funds and programmes to render assistance to countries that have experienced natural disasters; the development of activities, to which we will be paying great attention, not only within the framework of our bilateral relations but also within the framework of international organizations, and, above all, those of which Belarus is a member. Within the framework of our efforts to enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council in the struggle against the illegal trade of diamonds, our scientists are working, inter alia, on a unique method for determining the sources of their origin.

At the same time, with respect to cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations and mechanisms, the potential of our region and that of its organizations, including those of the Commonwealth of Independent States, is far from having been exhausted. For its part, Belarus is doing everything possible to strengthen that potential.

Allow me once again to assure you, Sir, of the readiness of the Republic of Belarus to fully cooperate in enhancing the effectiveness of the work of the Security Council.

The President: I would like to thank the representative of Belarus for his statement. His thoughtful comments on many issues on the Council's agenda will be useful and will be taken into account.

There are a number of speakers remaining on my list. With the concurrence of the members of the Council, I intend to suspend the meeting now and to resume it at 3 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 1.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4288 (Resumption 1)

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4288th meeting

Wednesday, 7 March 2001, 3.20 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Yel'Chenko	(Ukraine)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Ireland	Mr. Cooney
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Mauritius	Mr. Neewoor
	Norway	Mr. Strømmen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Ensuring an effective role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly in Africa

Letter dated 28 February 2001 from the Acting Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General (S/2001/185).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-27720 (E)

The meeting was resumed at 3.20 p.m.

Mr. Ouane (Mali) (*spoke in French*): Six months ago to the day, on the initiative of Mali and under the presidency of Mr. Alpha Oumar Konaré, the Security Council met at the level of heads of State or Government, for the second time in its history, to consider how to ensure for the Security Council an effective role in the maintenance of international peace and security, in particular in Africa.

Mali welcomes the spirit of cooperation that made possible this historic meeting. I am grateful to the delegation of Ukraine for having taken the initiative of organizing an open debate to take stock of the recommendations contained in resolution 1318 (2000), adopted on that occasion.

Taking into account your appeal for brevity, Mr. President, I shall limit myself to making a few comments on two of the six questions raised in the outstanding working paper prepared by your delegation. My delegation believes that these questions deserve particular attention.

First of all, there is a need to strengthen cooperation and communication between the United Nations and the regional and subregional organizations. My country has on numerous occasions taken a stand in favour of a genuine partnership between the Security Council and these organizations that would be mutually reinforcing.

We are most gratified by the meetings of the Security Council with, on the one hand, the Mediation and Security Council of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), on 12 February 2001, and, on the other, the Political Committee on the Implementation of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, on 21 and 22 February 2001, to consider, respectively, the situation in the West African subregion and in the region of the Great Lakes.

Those meetings made possible the adoption of resolutions 1341 (2001) and 1343 (2001), which, in the view of my delegation, represent a real test of the determination of the Security Council to address the aforementioned situations.

Cooperation and coordination between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) should also be strengthened through a lasting political support and commitment. Here I should like to emphasize how important it is for the international community, and the Security Council in particular, to fully support regional and subregional efforts at conflict prevention, the maintenance of peace and security, and the settlement of disputes.

It is essential, indeed, to act rapidly to bring about the implementation of the peace agreements concluded under the auspices of the OAU and of the subregional organizations, in particular by taking care to provide the necessary logistical and financial assistance. Moreover, resolute action on the part of the Security Council in this respect is in accordance with its primarily responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

It is indeed a source of satisfaction that the Security Council placed its action in this context in its presidential statement of 9 February 2001, which vigorously supports the peace agreement which the Government of the State of Eritrea and the Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia signed in Algiers on 12 December 2000.

My delegation considers, moreover, that the Security Council must continue to attach equal importance to all situations which may have a bearing on international peace and security, and do so in all regions of the world.

The Security Council should respond with the same determination and the same speed when it is dealing with a situation that poses a threat to international peace and security.

I should like to recall that in this area the Charter does not provide for any type of categorization or for any order of priorities. It is the full responsibility of the Council to cope with these situations with the powers entrusted to it by the Charter and the instruments available to it.

In conclusion, I should like to recall that peace and security in Africa can be achieved only if consistent and constant attention is paid to them. Today's debate marks an important stage in this process. As President Konaré emphasized at the 7 September 2000 meeting, only a comprehensive and consistent approach can provide an extensive and lasting impact with respect to the effective role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, in particular in Africa, by providing a better life for all in conditions of greater freedom.

The President: I thank the representative of Mali for his important statement and for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore): Please allow me to begin, Mr. President, by warmly welcoming you back to New York. I am pleased to see an old friend and colleague back in this important post, and we are very confident that you will lead us very well this month.

I should also at the outset like to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador Saïd Ben Mustapha, for the tremendous work he did during the month of February. We are pleased that, even though the month of February was shorter than the month of January, there were more substantive outcomes in the month of February than in the month of January, and we congratulate you.

Mr. President, we would also like to begin — I will limit my congratulatory remarks at this point, as this is the last congratulatory remark I will make — by thanking you for organizing this debate. We think the subject is an important one, because it advances a very key principle we believe in, which is the principle of accountability. In this regard, I must say that it is somewhat unusual for the Council to meet and review what heads of Government have decided six months ago, but your willingness to do this shows that we are prepared to discuss every subject if we have to.

We are also pleased that the Secretary-General took time off of his busy schedule to open the debate. He made some very important remarks. From what I understood, I think he focused on one key word, which, if I heard correctly, was "action". In our remarks this afternoon — and I will try to be brief — we will focus on another key word, which is "results". That will be the theme of my remarks this afternoon.

Mr. President, in your paper, which is very helpful, you posed six questions that we could touch upon in the course of this debate. But what we decided to do was in fact to go back to an earlier part of the paper, where, even before the six questions, you posed, in the fourth paragraph of the background paper, four questions which we will try to address.

I will read out what the questions were.

> "Indeed, over the past years, the Security Council has been confronted with truly fundamental questions. Has it effectively discharged its primary responsibility in the area of the maintenance of international peace and security? Is the Council ready to produce and implement a well-targeted strategy to fulfil its primary task under the Charter of the United Nations? Is there a common will to face this challenge? And is there any shared vision of a real way to ensure an effective role for the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security?" *(S/2001/185, p. 2)*

I will try to answer each question very briefly.

The first question: has the Council effectively discharged its primary responsibility in the area of maintenance of international peace and security? Our answer is that like any other human institution, the Security Council has its share of successes and failures, and indeed the speakers that we have heard this morning provided us illustrations of both. We can indeed be grateful that the world at large is at peace. This is a significant human achievement. But we are still a long way from seeing the end of the scourge of war. Millions still live in conflict situations, and as the representatives of Algeria, Egypt and Namibia, among others, have pointed out, the response of this Council to many of these conflict situations has remained inconsistent. I will mention some examples of inconsistencies.

For example, while the Council authorized the deployment of a mission 45,000-strong in Kosovo, for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which is the size of Western Europe, the Security Council has envisaged a mission of only 3,000 peacekeepers.

We are aware that the reasons are complex, and it is not possible to go into the complex reasons here. At the end of the day, the international community will judge us by our results on the ground. Indeed, in some cases the Council has proved itself incapable of action when action was sorely needed. Of course, the worst cases, which have been mentioned earlier, have been Rwanda and Srebrenica. But even while these examples are still fresh in our minds, some United Nations Members have found it difficult to understand the continued ambivalence of the Council towards live cases today, which include, for example, Guinea, which is the host of 500,000 refugees and whose borders with Sierra Leone and Liberia continue to be threatened by attacks. It is clear that perhaps more effective action is needed in such areas. For the same reason, we believe

the Council needs to monitor the recent developments in Burundi very closely, for despite the fact that the peace process has been facilitated by no less a personality than Nelson Mandela, we continue to run into great difficulties.

The biggest irony here is that after all the lofty pronouncements the Security Council has made, especially on the issue of protection of civilians in armed conflicts — and we have resolution 1318 (2000) to testify to that, which was adopted at the highest political level of the Council — unfortunately, from time to time, when civilians are in dangerous situations, the Council has not acted promptly or effectively. In this regard, I note the points made by the Ambassadors of Egypt and Namibia about the plight of civilians in the Middle East.

The second question: is the Council ready to produce and implement a well-targeted strategy to fulfil its primary Charter task? Our answer flows from the first question, so you will not be surprised, Mr. President, if I say that the Council's responses have often been ad hoc. To preserve its freedom of action, the Council has not worked out consistent criteria or principles for intervention, and this explains the inconsistent ad hoc responses. Our concern here is that the standing and the credibility of the Council will be diminished by signs of ad hoc responses, rather than consistent responses. Perhaps the Council has a strategy, but if it has, it is, unfortunately, not obvious to the larger public outside.

The third question: is there a common will to face this challenge? We all know that for most of the cold war the Council was divided. Briefly, after the end of the cold war, especially during the Gulf War, the Council acted with a common will. This was followed in the early 1990s by problems and disasters, in Somalia, Bosnia and so forth, which unfortunately destroyed some of the common will. The challenge the Council faces today, which is a real challenge, is to rebuild that common will. The leadership for this, we believe, as a small State, must come from the major Powers. We must also demonstrate it, as I said earlier, on the ground. This common will has surfaced in places like East Timor, Kosovo and, possibly, Sierra Leone, but in other areas which were also mentioned this morning, the Council has not acted as effectively.

The fourth and final question: is there any shared vision of a real way to ensure an effective role for the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security? Again, the answer, if we want to be completely honest with ourselves, is no. We do not have a shared vision yet. This is perhaps one of the tragedies about the Council today. The Charter gives it sweeping powers and sweeping responsibilities, but the custodians of these powers and responsibilities perhaps have not done a good job in meeting their Charter responsibilities. The time has therefore come to work out our common vision. We hope that this debate will do it.

In conclusion, let me be honest. In the interest of brevity, I have kept my answers short, but the result of keeping my answers short is that I have been very harsh in the assessment; perhaps excessively harsh. But I have been so with a clear reason, and the reason is that the many small States like Singapore have an interest in a stronger, rather than a weaker, Council. We believe that the only way we can create a stronger Council rather than a weaker Council is to have such honest, open discussions about the questions that you have raised, Mr. President, in your paper.

We also believe that for the Council to become strong and effective it needs to have a good strong relationship with the rest of the United Nations community. Indeed, one of the problems we have pointed to from time to time is that there is unfortunately a disconnect sometimes between the Security Council and the rest of the United Nations community. Our hope is that a debate like this, if conducted openly and honestly, will help reduce the disconnect, and if it helps reduce the disconnect, we will have a more effective Security Council. We therefore thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this debate.

The President: I thank the representative of Singapore for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): Thank you, Mr. President, for having organized this debate, which, as the Ambassador of Singapore has said, allows us to check where we stand in the implementation of one of our resolutions, which actually is our roadmap, as it was adopted by the heads of State themselves. It was good to hear this morning the views of the Ambassadors of non-members States of the Council regarding our work. Sweden spoke on behalf of the European Union and made a wide-ranging statement. As you had asked, Sir, I would like to

respond to this morning's statements, as well as to those made this afternoon, in the spirit of an interactive debate, which is often lacking in our work.

I shall refer to five comments that were made in the context of this debate. The first comment relates to the effectiveness of Security Council decisions. This morning Mr. Kofi Annan emphasized that adopting resolutions is fine, but it is even better to implement them in the field. This morning several countries addressed this point insistently: Argentina, Algeria, Pakistan and Croatia. Political will to implement resolutions is vital.

This is a real message being sent to the 15 members of the Council. But by definition it is also being sent to the entire international community, since the implementation of resolutions often goes beyond the 15 members of the Security Council. I am thinking particularly about the parties to a conflict themselves. They are the ones who are first called on to implement Security Council resolutions. There is a message here: from near or far, we are all involved in the implementation of resolutions we adopt in this Chamber, beginning with the parties to a conflict, to which most of the resolutions are addressed.

My second comment relates to the role of regional organizations. This is a difficult issue, but I think the Security Council has made progress in this regard. Several delegations — Canada, Sweden on behalf of the European Union, and Argentina — addressed that issue at great length this morning. They emphasized the importance they attach to this cooperation between the Council and regional organizations. I think I can safely say that, in this Chamber, Council members feel exactly the same desire to work with the regional organizations on an ever-increasing basis. The truth is, that is what we are doing.

Yesterday — and I think this was a first since the United Nations was established — we heard the Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), because that organization is responsible for the Kosovo Force. Earlier, in January, we heard the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania on behalf of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. As to Africa, we have hosted the ministers of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) with increasing frequency, last month under the presidency of Tunisia and in June under the French presidency. In February and June, we hosted ministers from Central Africa, members of the Political Committee of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, who came to discuss the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

I therefore believe that cooperation exists. The problem is how to implement it in a satisfactory manner. I think that there are two difficulties in this respect. First, regional organizations themselves — or, even more frequently, subregional organizations, which are just beginning to emerge and do not always have the necessary cohesion, much less the means to implement their decisions — turn to the Security Council for that purpose. However, we have problems when the Security Council is not involved early on in the preparation of such decisions, because we are sometimes assigned missions in which the Council does not wish to become involved. For instance, the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement calls upon us to disarm the negative forces — the Interahamwe and the former Rwandan Armed Forces. I think there is a unanimous belief among its members that the Council cannot perform that function. Dialogue is good, but it must occur at a very early phase when a regional or subregional organization may later wish the Council to assume a mandate or undertake a mission.

The other difficulty is finding the proper balance between the respect that the Council owes to subregional and regional organizations that wish to do their work for peace and the primary responsibility of the Security Council. It seems to me that the resolution that we adopted this morning on the crisis in West Africa and the role of Liberia demonstrates that, after many days of sometimes painful but ultimately productive dialogue, we achieved consensus, not only among the 15 members of the Council, but also between the Council and ECOWAS. This morning's resolution is a good example of persistent and ultimately constructive dialogue between the Security Council and a subregional organization.

My third comment relates to criticism addressed to the Security Council by several speakers this morning regarding its pusillanimity. We are not bold or courageous enough; we could do more. The Ambassador of Singapore said this with his customary eloquence. We can all think of many instances when we should have done more or better. This may be true, but we must ask ourselves what we want to do.

I would respond to the Ambassador of Singapore's reference to figures. Currently, there are 45,000 personnel from the Atlantic Alliance in Kosovo, which contains some 5 per cent of the territory and no more than 10 per cent of the population of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. His implicit question was whether the Security Council is ready to send 500,000 people to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. To put the question in these terms shows that, if we are being logical, we cannot send the same mission to the Congo that we have assigned to NATO leadership in Kosovo. There, we are imposing peace with the necessary means to do so. As to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, it was decided after a lengthy debate that we would abide by the will of the parties themselves and observe their disengagement and withdrawal. Each crisis must be judged in the light of what it represents and of the ways and means that the Council can realistically hope to put together. Here, we need to go above and beyond the Council and turn to the Members of the Organization. How many people can we assemble to go to the Congo or to Sierra Leone?

This leads me to my fourth comment on peacekeeping operations themselves. We have the guidelines from our heads of State, as well as the Brahimi report, which we would like to implement in its entirety. In this respect, I wish to return in greater detail to the subject of the Congo and the United Nations Organization Mission there, because several representatives who spoke this morning asked whether we were right or not. The Ambassador of Singapore rephrased the question. Since we discussed this just before the adoption of resolution 1341 (2001), I think we might enlighten our colleagues outside the Council. There was a genuine discussion as we wondered whether or not to go in. We said yes, we can go: in any case, we must go. Once again, the mandate we have given the Mission is not to impose peace — we are not able to do that — but to monitor the implementation of the Agreement that the parties themselves have signed and claim to wish to implement.

If our task is indeed to monitor the implementation of a disengagement agreement, there are sufficient means to do so. In that first phase, we were to assist a dynamic for peace, to the existence of which the ministers who came to New York attested. That, however, is only the initial phase, which must be followed by others, including the genuine withdrawal to the borders of all foreign forces. In involving ourselves in that second phase, we will need to review the mandate and the necessary means to fulfil it. That is the task that awaits us when we visit the region in mid-May.

The true message to peacekeeping operations is the partnership that we commit ourselves to entering into with the parties to a conflict themselves. Here, we must make the international community as a whole understand that this is a sealed agreement and that when it is violated, as it was in Sierra Leone, the Security Council has to act and do its utmost. That is what we did this morning.

My fifth and last comment refers to sanctions, the necessary complement. Between words and weapons, we have sanctions. Sanctions were criticized by some this morning and France itself has some reservations about them. Above and beyond our questions, we must acknowledge the fact that our Council has made great progress in recent months in preparing a truly new, sharper and better targeted doctrine that can gradually be put into effect. In all the resolutions on Ethiopia/Eritrea, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan and, this morning, on Liberia, we have progressively improved the targeting of the sanctions, not against the population but against the principal leaders.

Secondly, we have increasingly established clear objectives and clear, verifiable criteria for the lifting of sanctions.

Thirdly, we take care to make prior assessments of the humanitarian impact of sanctions on a population. This is a real step forward.

Fourthly, I think I can say that four times out of four in recent months we have adopted time-bound sanctions. That is not a sign of weakness, but of the Council's willingness to re-evaluate the situation and to consider whether and how we should continue at the end of the one-year period. I believe this is progress.

Finally, our sanctions serve more as incentives than as punishment. The aim is to induce those targeted to redress their behaviour and to return to stricter respect for international law.

For all these reasons, France considers that we need a modest permanent monitoring mechanism, and we appeal for the establishment of such a mechanism.

I would like to say in conclusion that this debate is useful because it allows us to reflect interactively on what we are doing and helps us understand that there is still a long road to travel. It is for the Ambassador of Singapore to say this, with his sharp-edged lucidity, but France would also like to take the liberty of saying that we have already travelled some of that road.

The President: I thank the representative of France for his kind words addressed to me.

Miss Durrant (Jamaica): First let me thank you, Mr. President, and the delegation of Ukraine for presenting us with a working document that challenges us to evaluate our performance in meeting the objectives which our heads of State and Government set for us at the Security Council summit on 7 September 2000. This review by the Council, and having non-members of the Council express their views in this open debate, cannot but help the Council in fulfilling its mandate and broaden the support of the wider membership for its actions.

Mr. President, you posed a number of questions related to the declaration adopted in resolution 1318 (2000), the answers to which can serve as a measure of our commitment to implement the decisions taken. While it is not possible to give detailed answers to each of the questions in the time allowed, my delegation wishes to take this opportunity to highlight briefly those areas in which the Council's record since the summit demonstrates the will or lack thereof to be responsive to resolution 1318 (2000).

The time that has elapsed since the summit has been an extremely busy period for the Security Council. We have continued to be challenged by a number of conflicts and other issues which threaten international peace and security, as well as the social, political and economic well-being of the global community. The humanitarian situation in many countries has been exacerbated by armed conflicts and natural disasters. We have seen an increase in the number of refugees and internally displaced persons, which strains the ability of the international community to relieve the suffering of a vast majority of those affected. Women and children have borne the brunt of these humanitarian disasters, and the needs have far exceeded available resources. The international community has been seeking ways to meet the challenge of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which the Security Council has determined to be a serious threat to international peace and security.

The Security Council's declaration affirmed its determination to give equal priority to the maintenance of peace and security in every region of the world and made a commitment to "ensuring an effective role for the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly in Africa". (*resolution 1318 (2000)*)

In the course of the Security Council's summit debate, Jamaica's Prime Minister, The Right Honourable P. J. Patterson, advanced Jamaica's position on the key issues of Security Council reform; the role of the United Nations in protecting the most vulnerable -- refugees and internally displaced persons; the need to generate the requisite international political will to act against gross violations of human rights and international humanitarian laws; the requirement that the Security Council take action to make its actions more effective, particularly in the design and implementation of sanctions; the role of the United Nations in the illicit traffic in small arms; conflict prevention as paramount in the maintenance of international peace and security; and the indispensable role of regional and subregional organizations in peace-building efforts.

Important steps have been taken by the Council to address many of these issues, but these must be followed by further concrete action. Some of the actions taken clearly demonstrate the Council's recognition of some of its weaknesses and give evidence of its efforts aimed at achieving better results in the maintenance of international peace and security.

First, the Council undertook a comprehensive review of the recommendations of the Brahimi report on United Nations peace operations, which resulted in the adoption of resolution 1327 (2000) of 13 November 2000, setting out a doctrine for United Nations peacekeeping operations. The Council was unanimous in recognizing the need to improve the way peacekeeping operations are designed and implemented and the need to engage all the relevant actors in a meaningful way for successful peacekeeping. Some of these recommendations have been implemented, but while resolution 1327 (2000) established a doctrine on peacekeeping operations, the Council must now establish the modalities and mechanisms to implement institutional changes.

Second, the Council followed up with an examination of the need to explore exit strategies when considering the establishment of peacekeeping operations. Jamaica supported the conclusions that the Council must seek to ensure that peace agreements which require United Nations involvement in peacekeeping provide for a clear political objective; that they meet minimum conditions for United Nations peacekeeping operations; and that such agreements incorporate practical, designated tasks and time-lines for implementation, and criteria for final disengagement. The Council pledged to scrupulously seek to avoid a repeat of past mistakes by defining its exit strategies in the future. Only time will tell whether or not we can fulfil this undertaking.

Third, in January of this year the Council took a pragmatic approach to engaging troop-contributing countries in an examination of the relationship between them, the Secretariat and the Council itself. Troop-contributing countries and other members of the United Nations community were given an opportunity to share their views with the Council on ways to improve that relationship and in so doing improve the possibility of success in peacekeeping operations. This was in keeping with the doctrine established in resolution 1327 (2000). The troop-contributing countries provided the Council with a number of important recommendations aimed at enhancing peacekeeping operations and involving the troop-contributing countries in a collaborative effort. As a result of these discussions, and of the determination to find ways to enhance its role in the maintenance of international peace and security, on 31 January this year the Council established a Working Group on peacekeeping operations, which is now examining as a matter of priority the recommendations offered by troop-contributing countries.

Fourth, in an open debate that included participation by the wider United Nations membership, the Council examined the importance of pre- and post-conflict peace-building measures in preventing conflicts from occurring in the first place and from recurring once a peaceful settlement has been achieved. In this context, peace-building was recognized as an important tool in the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development. While this is true for every region of the world, and has been an integral element of the peace processes in the Balkans and in East Timor, the Council recognized that this approach must be inherent in all peace operations. The Security Council invited participation by other organs of the United Nations, the international financial community, regional and subregional organizations and other key participants in peace-building in examining specific cases such as Guinea-Bissau and the Central African Republic. The Council recognized peace-building as an important and indispensable conflict-prevention tool. It also recognized that the involvement of regional organizations is key to finding and bringing lasting solutions to these conflict situations.

Fifth, the Council has been fully engrossed in seeking solutions to specific conflicts, particularly in Africa, with the conflicts in Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo being given high priority on its agenda. Others have referred to the meetings held with representatives of the Economic Community of West African States and the Political Committee of the Lusaka peace process, and to the pledge of cooperation and collaboration made by the Council in seeking to bring lasting peace to those regions. Working with those subregional groups, the Council has sought to advance the peace process in these areas, and there are now visible signs of progress. It is imperative that the Council remain fully engaged in these issues. Other conflicts, such as the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, are reaching desired resolutions.

The one area in which it has been difficult to act is that of the protection of civilians affected by conflict. One case in point is the current situation in the Guinea-Sierra Leone-Liberia region of West Africa, where the lives of thousands of civilians are at risk. Tomorrow, the Council will discuss with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees just what the international community can do to help those who look to us for assistance. I wish to thank those Members States in Africa and elsewhere that have, at great economic and social cost, provided safe haven to large numbers of refugees. Unfortunately, we have to urge them to continue to do so.

Sixth, the debate on the subject of women and peace and security sharpened our focus on the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflict and in peace-building. We recognized the importance of women's equal participation and of their full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. The Council urged the Secretariat to

incorporate a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations and to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, especially among military observers, civilian police and human rights and humanitarian personnel. As we look towards tomorrow's observance of International Women's Day, we look for further action by the Security Council on these issues.

Seventh, the Security Council has been undertaking a critical evaluation of the general issues related to sanctions, and a number of areas in which consensus has already been achieved have been reflected in the recently adopted sanctions regimes. This is one area in which the full support of the entire membership is crucial for effective implementation.

Later this year, the Security Council and the General Assembly will have an opportunity to receive and to act upon the Secretary-General's report on conflict prevention, which the Council requested in July 2000. The Secretary-General's report will afford us the opportunity to give due consideration to the role of conflict prevention in the maintenance of international peace and security, and will also allow us the opportunity to examine the negative effects of conflicts on the economic, social and political developments in Africa and elsewhere. It will allow us the opportunity to institutionalize conflict-prevention measures, which will enhance sustainable economic growth and sustainable development. My delegation believes that this opportunity should not be lost on the members of the United Nations. We look forward to support for a proactive approach to conflict prevention as an important tool in the maintenance of international peace and security.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I wish to thank you again for organizing this debate. Our heads of State and Government have entrusted the Council with a major responsibility. It is up to us to deliver the results.

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The Security Council summit held last September decided to strengthen the effective role of the Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly in Africa. It is necessary and opportune that we hold a discussion today on ways to implement the spirit of the summit. I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for your initiative and efforts in holding this open debate.

In their statements this morning, many of our colleagues representing States not members of the Council offered comments, proposals and even criticisms on the work of the Security Council. In strengthening its work, it is very important for the Council to take into consideration the views of the Member States of the United Nations.

Over the last six months, the Security Council has made extra efforts and has made some headway in monitoring and containing international conflicts and disputes. The Council has continued to pay special attention to Africa. It responded in a timely manner to the ceasefire Agreement reached between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and a peacekeeping mission was promptly deployed in that region. It has continued to focus on the situation in Sierra Leone. By taking initiatives such as dispatching a mission to Sierra Leone and to relevant West African countries and by strengthening coordination with regional organizations concerned in this regard, the Council has made extra efforts to address this issue. Furthermore, in facing the new situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, it seized the opportunity and adopted a resolution on the deployment of the next phase of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

As for strengthening peacekeeping capacity, the Security Council started the process last September by taking the lead in reviewing the Brahimi report. It established a Working Group of the Whole to continue its deliberations on relevant issues. The sound recommendations contained in the Brahimi report are being implemented step by step. For example, communication and coordination with relevant regional organizations and troop-contributing countries have been further strengthened, which is a welcome development supported generally by troop-contributing countries. The end of last year also witnessed the resolution of the issue of peacekeeping assessments, which will bolster the peacekeeping operations of the United Nations. To that end, Member States have provided input, and the input provided by some Council members in this regard should be put on record.

The Council has also made commendable efforts in controlling hot-spot issues, stopping conflicts and carrying out preventive diplomacy. In order to curb the violent conflict between Palestine and Israel, members of the Council and Member States have been working

hard to find a solution acceptable to all sides. However, the Council's endeavours in addressing a number of issues that threaten world and regional peace and security — including the Palestinian-Israeli conflict — have so far failed to yield overall satisfactory or effective results. On certain issues, the Council has not been able to play a fully effective role. Some other issues have eluded resolution for a long time, thus constituting a challenge to the authority of the Security Council. The reasons for all of this, which may involve many aspects, have already been mentioned by some previous speakers and deserve the attention of the Security Council.

As one of the permanent members of the Security Council, China has always attached great importance to the role of the Council in maintaining international peace and security. The Chinese Government maintains a serious and responsible attitude towards implementing the spirit of the Security Council summit and places a special emphasis on action. For instance, China has continuously put African issues high on its agenda of priorities and has been committed to making its own contributions, both within and outside the Council, to peace and development in Africa.

As to questions on which there are still differences and to which there is no easy solution, we have always maintained that solutions acceptable to all sides should be sought earnestly by exploring common ground on the basis of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and in the service of the higher interests of international and regional peace and security. In this spirit, for instance, China has actively participated in discussions on the question of peacekeeping operations, as well as the question of the scale of assessment for peacekeeping operations, and has made constructive efforts and contributions in those regards. The Chinese Government is working to create conditions for its strengthened participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Besides the personnel that China has already contributed or is going to contribute to relevant peacekeeping operations, the Chinese Government is right now working with the Secretariat on details of China contributing logistic contingents to peacekeeping operations. In a word, much remains to be done in improving and strengthening the work of the Security Council, and we are ready to make unremitting efforts, together with other Council members and all United Nations Member States, to this end.

Before concluding, I also wish to briefly touch upon the question of improving the working methods of the Security Council. The workload of the Council has been increasing at such a rate that, as time goes by, it will undermine the Council's efficiency, functions and ability to deal with important peace and security issues in a timely and effective manner. Therefore, the Chinese delegation has continuously supported the reform of the Security Council's working methods. Improving working efficiency and increasing transparency constitute two important components of the reform. A balance should be struck between the two for such reform. The Security Council should focus on the primary issues of maintaining international peace and security. It is impractical to pack the Council's agenda with all other important issues listed on the agenda of the United Nations.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland): The debate that the President of the Council has wisely instituted on this subject is an excellent opportunity, both to review where our focus should lie over the next six months in following up the declaration of our heads of Government and State last September and to listen to the views of non-members of the Council on where they want concentrated action. Under the pressure of the demands put upon it, the Security Council is gradually changing the way it acts. I should like that change to accelerate. At the end of my intervention I shall make some comments in that area to follow up on what the Ambassadors of Singapore and France have said.

Much of the principle of the follow-up and quite a lot of the substance have been covered by a good European Union statement this morning. I will not go over the same ground again. We are still dealing with our business in fairly general terms, and before long we are going to have to get down to some particulars. But, I am not sure that we are getting there today. We may have to continue this debate.

I would like to pick up not your four questions, Mr. President, but your six questions in the second part of your paper, before I come to some final comments.

First, how effective are we being in giving special attention to Africa? There is no doubt of the answer to that: less effective than Africa deserves. But the Security Council's focus on African conflicts is being maintained, and the special characteristics of African

conflicts, which you refer to, are being addressed more directly, not least in the cases of Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Angola. But, more important than that in terms of recent developments, Africans themselves are beginning to take practical action to address the special circumstances that have dragged Africa down and left the continent lagging in development terms. A sense of renewal and partnership is being created, both amongst Africans and between Africa and the rest of the world.

Likewise, as Ambassador Levitte said earlier, there has to be a partnership between the Security Council and the parties to a peace agreement — so there has to be a partnership between the outside world, in particular the developed world, and the continent of Africa. At last, in the view of the United Kingdom, Africans and their non-African partners are beginning to look forward to solutions to African problems, not always backwards to blame and resentment. As an organization, the United Nations needs to build on this fast, not least in our approach to financing for development and other Economic and Social Council issues, as well as to peacekeeping.

Secondly, does the Security Council give equal priority to all conflicts or crisis situations? Of course not. The Security Council has no magic wand to wave away all conflicts equally. We have to concentrate on those that are most susceptible to treatment — and even then we have immense difficulties. But slowly we are becoming more professional and workmanlike in our approach to conflict management. If that produces a higher rate of success, then other regions or States in conflict will be more likely to turn to the United Nations for help, and the whole international system of conflict prevention and peace-building will gain confidence and coherence. For now, we have to be selective.

Some speakers this morning and Ambassador Mahbubani this afternoon raised the question of inconsistency. We cannot get away from the problems that are called inconsistency just by resolving to be consistent. It goes deeper than that. I want to mention to my Council partners and to the wider audience an important point that my former Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, took up in a recent article about policy decisions. He says that the fact that the international community cannot intervene everywhere to protect human rights or to lead to peace and security need not be an argument against helping where we can. But, it is an argument against too much philosophizing on the subject.

It is also a reason for not trying to confuse decisions of policy with obligations under international law. Most of the time the Security Council is dealing with decisions of policy, and not responding to an obligation under international law. Having a primary responsibility for peace and security is not an obligation under international law; it is description of a function. Douglas Hurd says that the moment those who take such decisions try to buttress them by arguing that they are a requirement of international law, they are immediately exposed as hypocrites for not obeying that same requirement in other tragedies across the world, which they have no intention of putting right. We should be modest in doing good, not only because of the prudent limits to our own strength but because, however much we do, there will be much evil in the world about which we do nothing.

Thirdly, peacekeeping operations are now under vigorous review, and we have a lot of work on our hands, within the United Nations system generally, to implement the Brahimi report (*S/2000/809*) comprehensively. The Security Council has established a working group to follow up its own responsibilities in this respect. We must all be ready to act on the Department of Peacekeeping Operations review when it reports in May. And the Secretariat must take forward the other work foreseen in the implementation plan. This is the most important thematic area for the Council to get right in 2001.

Fourthly, within the Brahimi framework, the United Nations approach to conflict prevention needs particular attention, because we all have so far failed to find a really effective way of preventing conflict, even when we know it is approaching. The Secretary-General's report, due in May, is the next important milestone. We have already discussed peace-building in the Council and have recognized that coordination between the Security Council and other parts of the United Nations system is essential. But have we turned that into practical action? No, we have not. It is time to bring the Security Council closer together with other parts of the system.

As a start, the United Kingdom will institute, during its April presidency, a meeting between Security Council members and the Bureau of the Economic and Social Council, and with other major United Nations

players on conflict management, to discuss coordination and coherent action on peace-building and conflict management. I have the support of the President of the Economic and Social Council for that in principle. I shall discuss the matter with the President of the General Assembly, and I ask for the Council's support.

Fifthly, the idea of producing comprehensive international strategies to address root causes of conflicts is ambitious, because the root causes themselves are disparate and complex. They can include the collapse of state government, rebellion, ethnic or cultural incompatibility, brutal and greedy government, or sheer poverty and the collapse of organized economic life. The Security Council cannot dictate a comprehensive international strategy to cover all these evils. But it can work with other parts of the international system and with the affected regions to develop a broad partnership in addressing the root causes of conflict. In real life, political, economic and social phenomena are seamlessly intertwined. So must the United Nations response be.

As I have said, signs of this broad partnership are just emerging in Africa, and it is time for the Security Council and the African organizations — regional and subregional — to start working together more constructively. As you suggest in your sixth question, Mr. President, we have made too little concrete progress in this respect. Why, for instance, have the Security Council and the Organization of African Unity failed to establish a continuous and productive working relationship? What is needed is not so much institutional reinforcement, which you mentioned, but a change of approach on both sides of the equation, to reflect the recognition that both United Nations organs and regional organizations have been too self-contained and politically constrained to devote themselves to really effective collective action. We must break out of our unproductive mould on all sides, and a good sign of that, perhaps, was our cooperation with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) on the Liberian resolution we adopted this morning.

A concluding note: the Security Council has to raise itself up a level from the traditional way of doing things. If, in doing that, we generate a bit of healthy competition with the General Assembly, I see no particular harm done, particularly if we all respond not with criticism of each other but with action and results.

For our part in the Council, we have to understand our real objectives and be realistic about them; use our time more carefully and purposefully; admit our failures or our inability to act, and understand why; be more transparent, especially with the non-members of the Security Council; and, perhaps most of all, search more willingly for the collective interest, an approach which need not be at the expense of our national interests, if only we are prepared to calculate the long-term benefits.

This morning the Secretary-General asked whether our capitals were now engaged in following up the Millennium Summit commitments at the political level. I am under instructions from my Prime Minister to act and not just speak, in this sense, because he wants the declaration of 7 September 2000 to leave a mark. It is time to test ourselves by this higher standard, and I hope that this will be the result of this useful debate.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We too welcome the holding of this discussion, which makes it possible to take stock of the first results of the implementation of the decisions of the summit of the Security Council held six months ago. The results of that meeting had a substantive influence on the further work of the United Nations. On the whole, the documents adopted at the summit, as well as the documents adopted at the Millennium Summit, are important in and of themselves, because they clearly set out priorities for United Nations activities and clearly reaffirm that these activities must be carried out on the solid basis of the Charter of the United Nations. And — no matter how funny this may sound — that reaffirmation was not easy to achieve, but common sense won the day and the principles of the Charter were unanimously reaffirmed.

A great deal is being said to the effect that the summit of the Security Council provided an impetus for efforts to improve United Nations peacekeeping activities, and that is indeed the case. The Council did its job. The General Assembly did its share of the work, and the Security Council adopted resolution 1327 (2000), in accordance with the mandate given us by the heads of State on 7 September. That resolution contains a number of innovative decisions. We believe that this was a step forward and that it is necessary at this stage to implement those innovations. Only when some progress has been achieved in the actual

implementation of those agreements will it be possible to ask if further changes are necessary.

A great deal is also being said on the subject of the reform of United Nations peacekeeping. The need to strengthen the military component in planning operations and in their implementation has been discussed at length.

In that connection, I should like to recall that in resolution 1327 (2000), the Security Council decided to consider the question of how best to make use of the Military Staff Committee. I think that here there is a need — and this was spoken to earlier by Ambassador Greenstock — not to leave all of this on paper or simply within the sphere of conversation, but to see what, in fact, can really be done.

Incidentally, that would be in keeping with the wishes that have been expressed here by many Members of the United Nations — that the permanent members of the Security Council participate more actively in United Nations peacekeeping operations. Naturally, in current conditions, the activities of the Military Staff Committee in rendering assistance to the Security Council in the planning and carrying out of operations must be implemented in close interaction with the troop-contributing countries. That, unquestionably, is in our view a fully realistic possibility, and we once again propose that we continue to consider how to make our decisions truly functional.

An important subject which was raised at the Millennium Summit, at the Security Council summit and in our resolution 1327 (2000) was the subject of cooperation between the United Nations and the regional organizations. A great many of the participants in today's discussions have spoken to this, and, in my view, that is one of the most promising areas for the development of peacekeeping as a whole on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations.

I should like to recall, incidentally, that both the Millennium Summit and the Security Council summit meeting emphasized that cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations must be developed on the basis of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

I think that everyone understands what that means: force can only be used on the basis of the Charter, either in terms of the right to self defence or with the sanction of the Security Council. Mention was made of double standards and reference was made to the examples of Kosovo and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Double standards, of course, exist in the work of the Security Council, but the specific example cited by my colleague from Singapore is, it seems to me, not quite correct.

Regarding the Kosovo Force (KFOR), that is not a United Nations operation. It is an operation of a coalition of countries that represents an ad hoc regional arrangement. In answer to the appeal of those countries and with the agreement of the parties to the conflict, the Security Council gave a mandate for the implementation of that operation. The operation is being carried out through the means supplied by its participants, including financing.

As for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, we are talking about the expansion of a United Nations peacekeeping operation. That is a somewhat different situation. I am not now going to go into the reasons why the expansion of this operation is proceeding rather slowly. I would only like to express the hope that in the light of the most recent events, possibly this process can be speeded up. But if we take the United Nations peacekeeping operations as a whole, then I think that the majority of them are now being carried out in Africa. That in itself reflects the implementation and practice of those decisions that were taken by the heads of State at the Security Council summit.

Not only the African operations are important. One of the biggest operations is in East Timor. Although I recognize the existence of double standards, in the specific example that was being spoken of here I think the situation is somewhat different. Of course, double standards in fact continue to exist, and they persist primarily in the positions of certain members of the Council when we are not able to reach agreement because certain national approaches do not coincide with the positions of the Security Council. The most obvious example is Iraq. We have a policy drawn up by the Security Council and expressed in our resolutions, and, yes, it is now encountering difficulties. Moreover, it is in fact at a dead-end, but that dead end was created as a result of unilateral actions of force that were undertaken against Iraq and that have no legal grounds.

These are individual separate subjects, and I am sure that in the very near future the Security Council will have to take up that problem of Iraq too, in a

comprehensive and transparent way, so that we can all — not just the members of the Security Council, but the other United Nations Member States — express our views on how we can manage to overcome this most serious problem, because it is not going anywhere.

Today mention was also made of the fact that in order to overcome double standards, the Security Council must draw up criteria that will enable it to take decisions as to when there is a need to intervene in one crisis or another. Here I am a sceptic, and I agree with Ambassador Greenstock that to provide criteria that would make it possible in some magical way to resolve any problem whatever simply automatically is impossible. This also applies to the well known proposals to the effect that a single set of criteria for humanitarian intervention should also be drawn up.

Regarding humanitarian intervention, there is no need to invent anything. There is the United Nations Charter, and everything that is not based on the United Nations Charter is a violation of international law.

I wish to focus on the question of interaction of the Security Council with other organizations of the United Nations system. That subject was also brought up here today. I fully share what was said to that effect by the Permanent Representative of China. I do not think the Security Council is acting correctly when it begins increasingly to take under discussion and include on its agenda issues that are being considered by the General Assembly or the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and other bodies and organizations of the United Nations and its system.

Of course, interaction is necessary, but that interaction must be implemented through working methods and pragmatically, and not through the organization of public debates in this Chamber on subjects directly taken from the agenda of the General Assembly, ECOSOC and other bodies.

I understand that it is easier to reach an agreement among 15 members than among 189 members. But such are the drawbacks of democracy, and all the more so since everything is written in the Charter and the rules of procedure as to who does what.

In conclusion, I wish to note that the Security Council summit also devoted attention to our working methods and many of those decisions that were adopted by the heads of State are being implemented. We are substantively improving the relations between the Security Council and the troop-contributing countries. We are seeking practical ways to approach peace-building, that would take into account the mutual competencies of the Security Council, ECOSOC, the General Assembly, the specialized agencies and the United Nations programmes and funds and would not allow for duplication or interference in each another's competencies. In these areas, as in other areas set out by the heads of State, there is a need to continue work.

In conclusion, I would like to thank you, Mr. President, once again, and I would like to thank the delegation of Ukraine for having undertaken the initiative to hold today's follow-up review meeting. I think that these exchanges of views are useful and, in our view, they reaffirm the most important thing, which is that the Security Council must focus its efforts on its central task: resolving practical problems of the maintenance of international peace and security.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): We wish to highlight the initiative you have taken, Mr. President, to convene an open debate to follow-up on resolution 1318, adopted on 7 September 2000, by the heads of State and Government of the Security Council member States. We also wish to emphasize the initiative you have taken to enable the non-members of the Security Council to speak this morning so that Council members could take their proposals into account in our statements, which is most important for our future work agenda.

We noted this morning the overall recognition of the progress made by the Council in recent months in areas such as the consultations on peacekeeping operations, attention focused on the causes of conflicts in Africa and the monitoring of sanctions regimes.

We were also able to see that we are being urged — and here my delegation fully agrees — to adopt stronger measures in the Security Council *vis-à-vis* the uncontrolled international trade of small weapons, to observe the appropriate competencies with regard to other United Nations bodies in connection with peace-building following conflicts and, finally, to ensure that decisions adopted by the Council are better known and have the desired effect on areas of the world to which they are directed.

It is only natural that the permanent members of the Security Council should bear a greater responsibility for improving the effectiveness of this organ, since many of these measures require a long

time to be consolidated. Of course, non-permanent members must also assume our share of responsibility in this task and we shall do so with greater aptitude to the extent that the Council is sufficiently representative of the Members of the Organization, with broad participation and, above all, greater transparency in its decision-making.

One area that was scarcely mentioned in September's declaration by the heads of State and Government, but which is nonetheless the subject of great attention and discussion in the Council, is that of the imposition of sanctions.

Under the Charter, sanctions should be used as a means to help maintain international peace and security and as an alternative to the use of force. They should not be thought of, however, as a punitive tool to extract political concessions. We would prefer them to be used to encourage greater cooperation, not confrontation, on the part of state or non-state actors that threaten international peace and security. Thus, the debates that have been held within and outside the Council on the humanitarian consequences of sanctions reflect the deep concern prevailing in the international community, and the Council must respond appropriately to that reality.

Two other aspects that we wish to emphasize relate to the Security Council's competence with respect to international peace and security and its conduct in conflicts in Africa.

Colombia strongly believes in the power conferred on the Security Council as principal guarantor of international peace and security. However, without the establishment of any clear criteria for doing so, the Council has continued to expand the concept of threats to international peace and security to include an interminable series of topics on which it claims competence. In so doing, it is depriving interested States that are not members of the Council from participating in negotiations; it is denying the General Assembly and other organs and agencies of the United Nations system the ability to consider items that naturally fall within their purview; and it is compromising its own ability to obtain tangible results in areas where it has no competitive advantage.

The Security Council's attention to Africa is understandable and Colombia considers the United Nations presence in that part of the world to be essential. Africa deserves this dedication in our work. Nevertheless, I wish to emphasize two elements. First, we feel that the Council should work more closely with regional and subregional organizations on the continent that are entrusted with the prevention and settlement of conflicts. We recall that the September summit was presided over by the head of State of Mali and that its delegation in the Council made important contributions from the standpoint of the Economic Community of West African States and its interests.

Secondly, the complexity of conflicts in Africa requires a strategy of integrating political, economic, social and humanitarian aspects, which require responses not only from the Council, but also from the United Nations as a whole. As to the Council, the attention it has paid to conflict-prevention strategies is justified, as are post-conflict peace-building processes. We believe, however, that much remains to be done in that field.

In conclusion, it is clear that United Nations Members as a whole are attentively following proceedings in the Security Council and expect satisfactory results from its missions. We feel that a debate such as this has the merit of generating a greater degree of commitment and solidarity among all Members of the Organization, not just among Council members, with respect to activities in the maintenance of international peace and security.

Mr. Cunningham (United States of America): I want to thank you, Sir, and your delegation for organizing this discussion, which has proved to be quite interesting and informative, I hope, to members of the Council and to our guests here today. It has certainly given us a great opportunity to hear the views of non-members of the Council on the Security Council summit, the work of the Security Council itself and our follow-up. It also gives us a chance to talk seriously and substantively about what the Security Council has done since September 2000.

The Security Council summit highlighted the need for action, I think, in two broad areas. One is peacekeeping, especially in Africa, the need to strengthen United Nations capabilities and the absolute necessity of doing a better job. It also addressed the need for more openness and engagement with the broader United Nations membership and with regional organizations and other international actors. Among some, I think, there was a sense that we could all do

better. I think that the last six months or more have shown that we have made progress in that regard.

During a recent open debate, the representative of one Member State remarked that peacekeeping successes were not made public often enough. That is equally true when it comes to meeting the goals we have set for ourselves and our successors. We have made significant progress towards achieving the goals elaborated in the Security Council millennium declaration. I think we are on the road to doing even better.

On peacekeeping, the declaration clearly addressed the need for the Security Council to enhance its effectiveness, especially in dealing with internal conflicts in Africa. The Council marked the need to adopt clear, credible and achievable mandates and, in fact, is doing so, most recently in adjusting its approach to new circumstances in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The declaration's commitment to the safety of peacekeepers and to credible, capable peacekeeping has marked the way forward in Sierra Leone. The Council acted quickly on the Brahimi peacekeeping recommendations within its purview. We have taken specific steps to strengthen cooperation with troop-contributing countries, especially under Singapore's presidency. The United States has strongly endorsed this activity. The model used with countries contributing troops to the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone has, by now, more or less been endorsed by all Member States and we are operating on a new level there. And the new Working Group on peacekeeping operations is considering ways to make the interaction between troop contributors, the Council and the Secretariat even more meaningful. We have pushed that and are committed to seeing that effort succeed.

The United States has honoured the summit declaration's call for international action to prevent the illegal flow of small arms into areas of conflict through the joint declaration of the United Nations and the Southern African Development Community on small arms. In a true innovation in its work, the Council is addressing trafficking and exploitation of high-value commodities with important work on conflict diamonds and an effort, made earlier today, to address the way blood money fuels further conflict and instability.

The declaration calls on us to bring to justice those who commit serious violations of international humanitarian law, and the recent international efforts to establish a war-crimes tribunal for Sierra Leone and to expand the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda honour that call.

Another provision of the declaration emphasized the determination to continue to sensitize peacekeeping personnel on the prevention and control of HIV/AIDS. In January, our public debate on HIV/AIDS intensified the work begun with Security Council 1308 (2000).

There has also been significant progress in working more closely with regional organizations, particularly in Africa, Latin America and Europe. The Secretary-General recently convened a meeting of regional organizations that was a truly innovative effort, and just recently the Council met with representatives of the Economic Community of West African States, the Chairman-in-Office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

We have also made strides in improving the working methods and transparency of the Council; the working methods of the Council have changed considerably — perhaps more than many people realize — from the first time I was here 10 years ago. There is much more effort to find consensus, much more openness to exchange with other organizations and actors, much more transparency and a much greater recognition of the need for partnerships — I stress the plural — to be effective. Important elements of Security Council reform, which were supported by so many countries during the Millennium Summit, and, indeed, which have been mentioned by many speakers today, are becoming a reality.

As to future steps, Council members, meeting at head of State level on 7 September last, laid out a clear road map. This is a road map of actions — things we should and must do. We have received a strong message from the Secretary-General, repeated in the documents that the delegation of Ukraine circulated for this open debate. To paraphrase that message, only action that is prompt, united, effective and pursued with skill and discipline, can halt conflict, restore peace and maintain confidence in the United Nations — a worthy goal, I would say. That is

certainly the right way to look at it. We must not become overly absorbed in looking at our own processes; we need to be very absorbed in looking at our actions and their results. We must not become prey to political theatre, which leads away from or impedes action.

How do we move from intentions to actions? The Council needs to address real problems, as we did yesterday with regard to Iraq, Afghanistan and the Balkans, and today with regard to West Africa. Furthermore, an essential concrete step — actually, a precondition — would be to demonstrate our collective support for the Brahimi implementation process and make that a reality, and to continue the progress we have made. We need to examine closely the comprehensive review of the resources of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations when it comes out in May, in order to make informed, well-justified decisions to further enhance capabilities. Additionally, enhancing the capacity of the United Nations to plan for and manage civilian police operations would greatly contribute to lasting security in post-conflict States. This has to become an important component of the work of the United Nations for addressing earlier stages of conflict and also for addressing post-conflict situations.

Many speakers today called for Council action to be more rapid and more effective, and for the Council to enforce its decisions and support international legitimacy and international law. That is certainly correct. But for that to happen, the Council and the membership must realize that the Council is not solely its own master. It needs stronger instruments, especially as outlined in the Brahimi report, but in other areas, too, that we have discussed in the recent past. Very importantly, it needs the support of, and implementation and follow-up by, the international community. It needs to recognize — we all need to recognize — that the ultimate responsibility for resolving conflict and building peace lies with the parties, as set out in the Council declaration in September.

The United States firmly intends to proceed down the path we opened — or, rather, clearly defined — last September. Moving forward vigilantly on this agenda is the best way to make our intentions more real — the topic we set for ourselves today.

Mr. Jerandi (Tunisia) *(spoke in French)*: I, too, would like to associate myself with other speakers in welcoming the initiative of your country, Mr. President, to organize this open debate. The choice of this subject reaffirms the sustained commitment of your country to contribute to the strengthening of the United Nations, as Mr. Leonid Kuchma, President of Ukraine, explained so well in his letter of 27 February 2001 addressed to the Secretary-General.

The relevance of the choice of this subject has been shown in the statements made by representatives of States Members of the United Nations, and in our view, this is a valuable contribution to assisting the Security Council and further strengthening its ability to discharge, with due effectiveness and credibility, the responsibilities conferred upon it under the Charter. Furthermore, this is the subject matter, as well as the objective, of resolution 1318 (2000) and, now, six months after the adoption of the resolution, we must take stock of the follow-up given by the Security Council to the commitments that it undertook at the highest level.

In this regard, and after having listened with great interest to the various statements, my delegation would like to make several points. First, in engaging in an assessment of the results achieved by the Council in implementing the various provisions of resolution 1318 (2000), we must keep in mind from the outset that the resolution contains short-term and medium-term commitments, as well as others for which implementation will require more time. Consideration of the results of the work of the Security Council during the six months that followed the adoption of resolution 1318 (2000) reveals that the Council has begun to provide effective follow-up for several of these commitments, in particular those that lent themselves to immediate implementation. This is especially the case with regard to the adoption of measures within the framework of resolution 1327 (2000) following up the Brahimi report, in order to make it possible to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations in peacekeeping operations. These measures include spelling out the mandates of peacekeeping operations and strengthening cooperation and consultation with troop-contributing countries.

Secondly, if they are to be effectively implemented, the objectives set out in resolution 1318 (2000) will require concrete support from all Member States and bodies of the United Nations, each in

accordance with its mandate and competencies, and from all the international and regional organizations involved. In this regard, we welcome the fact that the Council has been careful to ensure that, during consideration of certain items on its agenda, it has worked in close cooperation with the regional and subregional organizations, in particular those in Africa, such as the Economic Community of West African States. We also welcome the Council's initiative to meet with the signatories of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement in connection with the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. These initiatives, in particular those concerning partnerships with regional organizations, together with the Security Council missions to certain regions, are a clear demonstration of the Council's commitment to strengthening the effectiveness of its role by engaging in direct contact with the parties that are in the best position to help it grapple with the problems under discussion and to provide appropriate responses.

Thirdly, the concept of the maintenance of international peace and security, which experience has shown to be one that is evolving, can no longer be restricted only to conventional peacekeeping operations. This was demonstrated both during discussions of the Brahimi report and during the thematic Council debates, in particular that on peace-building, which my country initiated during its presidency of the Council during the month of February. The debate on peace-building, as well as the presidential statement that followed, highlighted the fact that, if international peace and security are to be maintained in a sustainable way, there is a need to provide for the drawing up and implementation of a comprehensive, consistent, integrated and joint strategy to tackle, effectively and with determination, the underlying causes of conflict, in particular those of an economic and social nature. This clearly must be a collective undertaking, and it can succeed only if all those involved take on their part of the responsibility within the framework of coordinated action.

Fourthly, our debate today has demonstrated that strengthening the effectiveness and credibility of the Council is a concern we all share, and one that should continue to be at the top of the Council's priorities. In this regard, we believe that the Security Council should follow-up the expectations of the Member States of the Organization by continuing down the path of enshrining transparency in its work and by proceeding to the necessary reforms in the area of sanctions. Those reforms should lead to institutionalizing clear and precise parameters, common to all sanctions regimes imposed under the Charter, and should take into account the adverse impact of sanctions and the provisions of the Charter, in particular those of Article 50.

We cannot, of course, say that the Security Council has always been able to respond — and respond positively — to every expectation of the international community. Examples of this, although not unique ones, are those of protecting the Palestinian civilian population of the occupied territories and the final lifting of sanctions against Libya and against the Iraqi population. It is clear that the lethargy of the Council should prompt us to preserve its credibility. I agree with Ambassador Greenstock that the Council does not have a magic wand. That is true; but the Council must also have the capacity to evaluate the urgency of situations and to react to them without making any calculation beyond the desire to preserve peace and security.

In closing, I would like to emphasize that while the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security devolves upon the Security Council, the success of any undertaking in that area is a collective responsibility. That responsibility must be reflected at all levels and by all actors involved through genuine political will and the mobilization of all necessary means — in particular financial ones — to meet the challenges of peace, stability and development, which are integral elements of any effort that we want to a lasting one.

The Secretary-General said this morning that the resolutions of the Security Council are not self-implementing. As the international community we must all see to it that we ensure their implementation.

The President: I thank the representative of Tunisia for his kind words addressed to my country.

Mr. Strømmen (Norway): We welcome this opportunity to revisit the outcomes of the Security Council summit held six months ago. The summit was truly a remarkable occasion in the history of the Council and was an event that contributed greatly to the success of the Millennium Summit of the United Nations.

The summit adopted resolution 1318 (2000), which contained the declaration on ensuring an effective role for the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly in Africa. The declaration represents an ambitious long-term agenda. Although progress towards the implementation of the agenda is already evident, it would not be fair to undertake a full assessment of its implementation after just a few months. Rather, the focus should be on the need for effective follow-up.

Turning to the questions raised in the very useful explanatory note for this meeting, it must be stressed at the outset that it will not be possible to address them in the detail or as thoroughly as they deserve in a short intervention. I would, however, like to make one general remark before making specific comments on some of the six issues. That general remark is that it is noteworthy that each and every one of the six questions raised points to the need for enhanced cooperation and interaction between the different bodies, organs and organizations of the United Nations. If there is, therefore, one main conclusion to be drawn, it is that of the imperative need for the different arms of the United Nations to improve their coherence, cooperation and communication in order to enhance the relevance of the United Nations.

It is not the Security Council that will make a decisive difference in a country sliding into conflict or recovering from it. It is not the decisions of the Economic and Social Council, or of the General Assembly, that will ensure stable economic growth and sustainable development in a particular developing country. It is not the programmes of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) that will pull people out of poverty, nor the projects of the United Nations Children's Fund that will provide a better future for all children. It is not the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs that can ensure that humanitarian needs are met, or that can prevent new humanitarian crises from occurring. Any real and lasting difference for the people we are trying to assist will only come about as a result of the combination of all these efforts and as a result of the relevance, timeliness and adequacy of the assistance of the United Nations system as a whole.

The authority of the Security Council depends to a great extent on its ability to demonstrate that it gives equal priority to the maintenance of international peace and security in every region of the world. If one asks any member of the humanitarian community, they will readily provide a number of examples of conflicts and humanitarian crises that do not receive adequate attention. In this context, it is of particular importance to underline that the Secretariat must be provided with improved capacity and resources to notify and act at an early stage where a situation is deteriorating or may result in conflict. In that way adequate assessment and response from the international community can be better ensured at an early stage, no matter where the situation occurs.

One of the most encouraging results of the Security Council's summit declaration and of the General Assembly's Millennium Declaration is the consensus that emerged on the need for comprehensive peace-building that addresses conflict at all stages — from prevention to settlement to post-conflict peace-building. During the last few months, that consensus has been further developed — inter alia, during the taking of the UNDP Governing Council decision in January this year on the role of UNDP in crisis and post-conflict situations — as well as in the presidential statement on peace-building adopted by the Council during the Tunisian presidency in February. In addition to the general remark I made earlier, it is clear that putting that general consensus into operation represents formidable challenges for all parts of the United Nations system. But it is also a main challenge for individual member countries to strengthen their efforts to achieve consistency in their own policies and in their participation in different United Nations bodies and organizations.

Another element of that emerging consensus is the need to address the root causes of conflict, including their economic causes. Effective conflict prevention and resolution makes this as necessary as it is difficult. One tool to address the root causes of conflict available to the Council is to adopt smarter sanctions in order to create incentives for the parties concerned to resolve a conflict. However, experience has shown that it is increasingly difficult to agree on the usefulness, formulation and implementation of sanctions regimes in particular situations. The discussions on sanctions against Liberia, which were successfully completed this morning, represent one recent case that easily comes to mind.

While we maintain that sanctions regimes are still useful tools for the Security Council to fulfil its

mandate in particular situations, the controversies involved in implementing them point to a need to consider this issue in a broader context. What additional tools and actions are available to the Council to effectively address the root causes of conflict? What consideration should determine which action or combination of actions to pursue? To what extent does this objective require a system-wide approach that goes beyond the mandate of individual bodies and organs of the United Nations? We believe these questions should be given appropriate attention in the further follow-up to the summit declaration.

Finally, even the United Nations is not an island. To be effective and relevant the United Nations must pursue and develop effective cooperation with other actors, such as regional organizations, civil society and the private sector. The very substantive results of the meeting held between the United Nations and regional organizations on 6 and 7 February are an example of the benefits that can be achieved by closer cooperation with regional organizations. We welcome the guiding principles for cooperation in peace-building that emanated from the meeting, and we encourage active follow-up both from the United Nations and from regional organizations on the many possible cooperative activities identified during the meeting.

Mr. Cooney (Ireland): I would like to thank the President of the Council for organizing today's debate, particularly for proposing that non-members of the Council speak first. If constructive criticism is healthy, then the Council will surely emerge stronger from today's discussions. The distinguished representative of Pakistan is right when he points out that the Security Council is not a debating club. But, I am sure that he will agree that the kind of critical examination in which we are engaged today is necessary if the Council is to fulfil its mandate to the satisfaction of the broader United Nations membership.

Let me say at the outset that Ireland supports the remarks that the representative of Sweden, representing his country's Presidency of the European Union, has already made during this debate, especially in regard to their focus on Africa — a high priority for my country — the need to work towards full implementation of the recommendations of the Brahimi report (S/2000/809) and the importance of closer cooperation between the Security Council, the Secretariat and the troop-contributing countries. This last point was raised by a number of delegations earlier today, and Ireland has worked hard on the Council and will continue to do so in support of improved involvement of the troop-contributing countries in the preparation of Council decisions on peacekeeping missions.

Security Council resolution 1318 (2000), adopted by the Council last September, covered a wide range of concerns. In contrast to many who have already spoken, I will focus on just one of these concerns: the root causes of conflict, especially their economic and social dimensions. In doing so, I am echoing the remarks of a number of delegations that have already spoken. I will also be looking at an area that is beyond the exclusive competence of the Security Council and touches on its interface with the broader international community.

The Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. This is a wide responsibility that must not be confined to addressing crises that have already erupted. It must also involve a proactive, preventive approach, pursued as part of the collective effort of the wider United Nations system, where our common purpose is to act together to prevent and remove threats to peace and solve collective economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems. These responsibilities and purposes — those of the Security Council and the bodies that make up the wider United Nations Organization — are intertwined and interdependent.

As the distinguished representative of Croatia said, the United Nations Security Council must use its visibility and its prestige to consult with and augment the efforts of the United Nations bodies principally charged with development. The distinguished representative of Peru made a similar point.

Peace and development are also intertwined and interdependent. This was recognized at the Millennium Summit, where heads of State or Government resolved to achieve a fully coordinated approach to the problems of peace and development. For the United Nations this requires the Council, as Norway has just said, to ensure that the different parts of this Organization are coherent, cooperate and mutually reinforce each other's efforts.

I want to stress here, as did the distinguished representative of Egypt this morning, that such coordination must take place in full respect for the competence of the organizations and institutions

concerned, although, as the United Kingdom mentioned earlier, the dividing lines are not always clear.

While we may sometimes disagree about the specific event that sparked any particular conflict, we can all agree that conflict causes increased poverty and injustice and that sustainable development is not possible without peace. It is a fact that of the 34 countries furthest from reaching the international development targets, 22 are affected by current or recent conflicts. As a result of conflict, the poorest become even poorer.

We see the United Nations development arm, with its global outreach, as an important instrument in addressing poverty. And we take the view that we, the international community, must reinforce our efforts to support, by word and deed, a strengthened and coherent United Nations effort to tackle some of the root causes and results of conflict: poverty, disease, human rights abuse, the lack of education or, just as importantly, its misuse in fostering racial and ethnic hatreds.

For the United Nations, when acting in crisis countries, this surely means that efforts in crisis management should reinforce long-term development objectives, rather than distort them and that the United Nations must have clear lines and definitions of authority and clear organizational structures. It means that every effort must be made to ensure coherence and coordination and to ensure that lessons are learned from the past and best practice pursued. It means that peace-building efforts require the closest cooperation and coordination between all parts of the United Nations system — in particular, the Department of Political Affairs, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the United Nations Development Programme. At the field level there is clearly a significant role for the United Nations Development Programme as a capacity-builder in the governance area and in the context of the resident coordinator system. Finally, and crucially, all parts of the United Nations system should seek to mutually reinforce each other.

I might also mention that there is considerable work on the important issue of conflict prevention being undertaken in a number of different forums at the moment. The European Union has recently focused on developing a comprehensive strategic approach to conflict prevention, which will be on the agenda of the Gothenburg European Council. In addition, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's Development Assistance Committee high-level meeting in April will consider guidelines on conflict prevention. It is important that the United Nations and these different forums coordinate with each other to ensure that the strategies and policies being developed in this area are coherent and reinforce one another. We need in the Security Council and elsewhere to pursue a join up approach, both in the United Nations and across the international community as a whole. In this context, we very much welcome the initiative just announced by the United Kingdom for its forthcoming presidency.

To conclude, I have not and could not respond today to all the points raised this morning, but we have taken careful note of them and will take them into account during the remainder of our tenure on the Security Council. We are ready to support the presidency in drafting a result-focused, forward-looking and concise text by which the Council will signal to the wider United Nations family and the world at larger its determination to follow up on today's important debate.

Of course, words on their own are not enough. As the Secretary-General reminded us at the beginning of our discussion, they must be backed by action. We must, as Croatia said this morning, practice what we preach.

Mr. Neewoor (Mauritius): Let me begin by congratulating Ukraine once again on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. I also thank Tunisia for its very effective presidency of the Council last month.

My delegation is grateful to you, Mr. President, for organizing this open debate on the follow-up to the Security Council summit held six months ago alongside of the Millennium Summit. We are also grateful to your delegation for the comprehensive background paper you have circulated with the aim of spurring meaningful discussion on this extremely important topic.

We appreciate that for today's meeting you have decided on the format introduced under Singapore's presidency that allows the non-members of the Security Council to speak first. This format enables the Security Council members to have the benefit of the views of

the general membership of the United Nations and enables us to react to those views to the extent possible in an interactive process. This, we have no doubt, is much appreciated by the general membership.

When the leaders of the countries serving on the Security Council meet in a special summit, as it happened six months ago, and, following their serious deliberations, agree to a declaration that incorporates their collective views on a subject as important as "Ensuring an effective role for the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, particularly in Africa", such a declaration not only requires our serious attention but should be implemented by all possible means as a priority. It is unfortunate that this important declaration has remained more or less dormant since its adoption at the summit level on 7 September last year.

Indeed, the declaration sums up most of the concerns the members of the United Nations have regarding the effectiveness of the Security Council today, as the apex world body for the maintenance of international peace and security. It addresses the serious challenges the Security Council faces in carrying out its responsibilities today in changing circumstances and makes important proposals for the way forward. It reaffirms the need for reform, so that representation in the Security Council can become more equitable and its decisions more credible.

There is no doubt that the institution of the Security Council as the instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security is in urgent need of rethinking if it is to continue to assume the role the Charter has given it. The Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, speaking at the Security Council summit six months ago, could not have better portrayed the present state of affairs:

> "Too many vulnerable communities in too many regions of the world now hesitate to look to the United Nations to assist them in their hour of need. No amount of resolutions or statements can change that reality; only action can: prompt, united, effective action pursued with skill and discipline to halt conflict and to restore the peace. Only such determined action can restore the reputation of the United Nations as a credible force for peace and justice". *(S/PV.4194)*

We know that this important statement of the Secretary-General, which he reiterated this morning, is fully shared by most United Nations Members and is particularly relevant to the Security Council.

We all agree that the maintenance of international peace and security has become a much more complex proposition than was originally envisaged in the United Nations Charter. Unfortunately, we have not adapted our structures and methods to deal with the new situation. The Security Council, which has the primary responsibility in this regard, continues to function within the parameters of a world order that has long since changed, and does not reflect the realities of our times. Its decision-making is, more often than not, flawed and inconsistent as well as lacking in credibility. We believe that the ongoing discussion in the General Assembly on reform of the Security Council needs to be concluded expeditiously in order to enable the Council to function more efficiently in fulfilling the responsibilities conferred upon it by the United Nations Charter.

We would like to propose that we consider having a group of wise men, including former statesmen, discuss those issues of reform which continue to elude solutions in our discussions and make proposals to us for further consideration, because we need to move on with reforms of the Security Council.

The manner in which conflicts are addressed presently by the Security Council can at best be described as "firefighting" with inadequate material, financial and human resources. We send rumbling and ill-equipped fire engines, often much too late, to contain raging fires of conflicts, and then realize that we have entrusted an impossible job to our firemen. Somalia, Angola and Sierra Leone are examples in this regard. At times our fire engines do not even start, as we saw in the case of Rwanda, where millions were being killed in a cruel genocide and were crying for help from the international community, and also in the case of Palestine last year. We know, furthermore, that the Democratic Republic of the Congo has waited more than 20 months for the deployment of a peacekeeping operation.

Obviously, United Nations peacekeeping in Africa has been lacking in even-handedness, to the extent that there are allegations of double standards when it comes to deployment on the African continent. The Security Council summit declaration appropriately called for particular attention to be given to peacekeeping in Africa.

The Brahimi report addressed many of the shortcomings of United Nations peacekeeping operations and has made important recommendations, some of which are being implemented gradually. One very significant recommendation, which is also being implemented, is that there should be regular consultations, at every stage of peacekeeping operations, between the Security Council and the troop- contributing countries. We are hopeful that the Working Group on Peacekeeping Operations established last month by the Security Council, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Curtis Ward of Jamaica, will deal with all relevant aspects for further improvement of United Nations peacekeeping operations.

The imposition of mandatory sanctions is the only other tool available to the Security Council for enforcing its decisions. Unfortunately, the Security Council itself does not have the capacity to ensure compliance with its sanctions regimes. In such a situation, the sanctions are violated with impunity and often fail to serve their intended purpose. We then have a situation in which everything remains at a standstill, sometimes for years. We also have situations in which sanctions bitterly affect the people rather than the defaulting regimes for which they are intended, and the sanctions become the subject of popular outcry because of the humanitarian crisis to which they often lead. The Security Council summit declaration referred to this problem, and it is now for us collectively to address this important issue in a comprehensive manner and come up with an appropriate solution.

The maintenance of international peace and security, as referred to in the United Nations Charter, has larger connotations than just peacekeeping operations. The Security Council summit declaration rightly recognizes this and emphasizes that peace-building and identifying the root causes of conflicts should be given due attention by the Security Council and the United Nations in general. In order to address these issues, there is a need for cooperation between the Security Council and the other organs of the United Nations system, in particular the Economic and Social Council. We believe that a special unit should be set up in the United Nations Secretariat to facilitate coordination between the Security Council and the various United Nations bodies in the areas of post-conflict peace-building.

The maintenance of international peace and security also entails the prevention of conflicts. The Security Council summit addressed this issue and suggested that regional offices of the Security Council be established, with the responsibility of preventing conflicts. We strongly support that proposal. We believe that such regional offices could also work closely with the regional organizations, which, too, have an important role in conflict prevention as well as in the management of conflicts.

Finally, I would like to suggest that the Security Council establish a working group with responsibility to make recommendations to the Council on implementation of the summit declaration. Furthermore, consideration should be given to the possibility of holding a ministerial meeting of the Security Council during the next session of the General Assembly for a review of the Security Council summit declaration.

The President: I thank the representative of Mauritius for his statement, which contained very important proposals as to the outcome of today's discussion.

Mr. Sorcar (Bangladesh): We are grateful to you, Mr. President, for arranging this debate. It has been a very timely initiative. It was indeed essential that we undertake a follow-up of the Council summit now that six months have elapsed. We appreciate the well-researched background paper provided by your delegation. That paper picks up, as is most appropriate, the salient points in resolution 1318 (2000). You have also included the highlights of the statements made by the heads of State and Government of the Council members at their 7 September summit. This is very pertinent to our present exercise.

I shall not dwell much on what the Council has done over the last six months. That is outlined in your paper. I shall concentrate on what has not been done and what we should do in the days ahead. In doing so, we shall base our comments essentially on resolution 1318 (2000), the provisions of which are supported by the leaders of the Council member countries. In their statements the heads of State and Government also expressed views and made concrete proposals, which were not the subject of a consensus-seeking exercise. Nevertheless, those ideas deserve our serious attention, particularly when we are engaged in follow-up of the summit. We shall, of course, favour taking all those

proposals made at the summit into account when we consider the outcome of the two days of debate.

Let me recall the appeal of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina to the United Nations at the last Council summit: to choose and sustain government of the people, by the people and for the people. This is clearly in line with the emphasis put on democracy, good governance, the rule of law and human rights. Many of today's conflicts have their roots in non-democratic — I would rather say dictatorial — regimes. Protection of democracy in many cases may mean preserving peace or preventing conflicts. These institutions, coupled with sustainable development, constitute the foundations for durable peace. In his 13 April 1998 report on the causes of conflict in Africa, the Secretary-General did recognize bad governance as a major source of conflict. No one could possibly dispute the fact that protection of the rights of minorities and respect for unlimited freedom and human rights contribute to conflict prevention.

The Prime Minister of Bangladesh proposed the establishment of child soldier-free zones. We believe in keeping with our commitments to the future generations. This objective should be pursued by the membership and should be supported by the United Nations system and other actors. Bangladesh has also stressed that peace and security should be conceived basically in terms of human security. The ravages of war are experienced by human individuals, a reminder echoed in the statement of the former High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Sadako Ogata.

Turning to resolution 1318, we shall limit our comments to the six central themes you have suggested, Mr. President. The basic question before us is whether the Council has lived up to its commitments. A pertinent question will also be whether the Secretariat, other organs of the United Nations, funds and programmes of the United Nations system and the Bretton Woods institutions have assumed their respective roles in advancing the objectives. Most of all, as the Secretary-General has stressed this morning, whether Member States — in the first place the Council members — have engaged in their respective capitals in seeking to implement the summit pledges.

First, Africa. The year 2000 started with the month of January designated as the month of Africa, under the United States presidency. Since then, all the months of the year remained, as the situations demanded, focused on the conflicts in Africa, on African issues. This was true for the months before and after the summit. Since the summit, actions on Eritrea-Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and West Africa and our action this morning with respect to Liberia speaks of a more proactive and resolute role of the Security Council. It would sound rather self-congratulatory if we enumerated our achievements. It will be difficult for the Council to judge its own performance in an objective manner. The comments and views of the United Nations membership are hence essential, and we are happy that a good number of non-members of the Council participated in the debate.

Second, "forgotten conflicts". The Council heard elaborate comments on longstanding disputes from several delegations. I shall touch upon the question in connection with the preparedness gap, lest that give rise to cases of oblivion on the part of the Council. The situation in Burundi is a case in point, but the Council has certainly not forgotten Burundi. The situation is reviewed every month. But possibly we have forgotten our responsibility to provide, or at least to plan to provide, a peacekeeping mission there, the situation permitting, as called for in the Arusha Peace Agreement. The Council should redeem itself of the tradition of doing too little too late in the case of Burundi, which is at hand. Way back in September 2000, the Secretariat was requested to report on the matter. The report is still awaited.

Third, points three, four and five of the background paper relating to peace operations. The timely adoption of resolution 1327 (2000) as follow-up of the Brahimi Panel report has been acclaimed, rightly so. With this, a solemn commitment of the summit has been fulfilled. Attention now needs to be given to the implementation of the agreed provisions. I shall focus on the provision under section III of the annex, as it contains essential operational elements and as most of the others have been covered by other speakers.

The chapeau of this section calls for development, within the United Nations system and more widely, of comprehensive and integrated strategies to address the root causes of conflicts, including their economic and social dimensions. The representative of the United Kingdom has set the limits and has indicated the framework for such an endeavour, which the United Kingdom considers ambitious, a feeling that is shared. We agree with those

observations. The last provision in this section underlines the importance of enhancing the United Nations capacity for rapid deployment of peacekeeping operations and urges Member States to provide sufficient and timely resources. We would like to remind ourselves of this commitment on this occasion.

An assessment of the progress in translating these pledges into practice will require a report by the Secretary-General with inputs from the Member States. We hope that part of this, particularly the question addressing the root causes of conflict, will be covered in the upcoming report on conflict prevention.

The rest of the section is devoted to strengthening United Nations peacekeeping operations. The Council committed itself to adopting clearly defined, credible, achievable and appropriate mandates. Has it kept its commitment? It is better that we hear comments on this from the United Nations membership outside the Council.

The Council also agreed to include in these mandates effective measures for the security and safety of United Nations personnel and wherever feasible, for the protection of the civilian population. The safety and security of peacekeepers is paramount in our mind, as a troop-contributing country. This does not mean that we do not accept any risks.

Bangladesh sends its soldiers and other peacekeeping personnel to United Nations missions throughout the continents, including in the most perilous areas. We accept certain sacrifice, along with other Members of the United Nations, but our concern here is not to repeat the experiences we had in Rwanda or in Sierra Leone.

Another pledge was to take steps to assist the United Nations to obtain trained and properly equipped personnel for peacekeeping operations. In this connection, we would recall the observations made in the Brahimi Panel's report on the question of the commitment gap and the contribution of those with the greatest capacity and means. We would also recall the observations of the Secretary-General in this regard following the withdrawal of the Sierra Leonean and Jordanian battalions.

The protection of civilians received a guarded commitment covered by the saving clause, where feasible. In the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the reverse concept of operations that we have supported, we have taken shelter under the saving clause. We shall be judged by what happens on the ground to the civilians.

Strengthening consultations with troop-contributing countries when deciding on peacekeeping operations was another major commitment. Thanks to the Singapore presidency, the Council has been engaged in this matter. The upgrading of United Nations capacity for planning, establishing, deploying and conducting peacekeeping operations was a major commitment in this regard. In December, the General Assembly approved 95 posts following the Brahimi recommendations. As this was an emergency requirement, we hope that the Secretariat is taking steps to make appointments to the posts in an expeditious manner, particularly as we know there are the usual delays.

In conclusion, we would suggest three concrete steps as a follow-up to today's debate. First, as to the recommendation of the Secretary-General, we may take steps to engage our Government, where it is deficient, for the national implementation of resolution 1318 (2000) and, of course, of the commitments made by our respective heads of State and Government. We could possibly also think of involving the legislative branch of our Governments in our respective countries.

Secondly, concerning the initiative for a United Nations system-wide follow-up of the resolution, we have pointed out some of the areas. A report of the Secretary-General, possibly after six months, will allow another half-yearly review in a more substantive manner. The comments of the United Nations membership and civil society, including the non-governmental organizations and academia, would provide useful inputs to the report. The report will be most useful for a possible ministerial meeting proposed by Mauritius — a proposal that my delegation supports. The Council had earlier envisaged such a meeting in the context of conflict prevention.

Thirdly, we might think of involving the peoples in whose name the Charter establishes the United Nations. We spoke of involving the legislative branch. The Inter-Parliamentary Union is an institution which could promote follow-up of United Nations resolutions, in particular the Council's. We could, in our national context, explore appropriate steps to inform and to involve our citizens. The power of making major decisions has to come from the people.

Finally, we are happy to note that the Council is making a slow but steady departure from the fire-brigade approach in favour of a comprehensive approach to peace and security. This indicates the recognition that the Council cannot go it alone when it comes to the question of peace and security. We agree with the constructive competition alluded to by the representative of the United Kingdom, which would seek to promote the widest possible partnerships, as underscored by the United States, for peace.

We have noted some of the major initiatives and progress. However, there is no room for complacency. The Council has to do better. Bangladesh will continue to make its contribution to our collective endeavour.

The President: Let me express my sincere gratitude to all delegations for their substantive contributions to our discussion today. I believe that this debate has proved its timeliness and usefulness.

The need to conduct regular reviewing of the implementation of the decisions taken by the Security Council was one of the major motivations that prompted the Ukrainian presidency of the Council to convene this debate. Indeed, such reviewing could become one of the concrete means of ensuring that the Council's decisions are put into action. The presidency is very encouraged by the many action-oriented comments and practical proposals that have been put forward by delegations with a view to contributing to the realization of commitments undertaken by the Security Council at its summit meeting. The presidency believes that it is very important not to waste these proposals and we will think very carefully, in consultation with all members of the Council, about the most appropriate way of putting them in writing in order to formalize, as the Ambassador of Ireland put it, a result-focused outcome of this debate.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.

United Nations S PV.4289

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4289th meeting

Wednesday, 7 March 2001, 6.45 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Yel'Chenko	(Ukraine)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Sorcar
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Ireland	Mr. Cooney
	Jamaica	Mr. Ward
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Mauritius	Mr. Neewoor
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Cherif
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Letter dated 4 March 2001 from the Permanent Representative of The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2001/191).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-27094 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 6.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 4 March 2001 from the Permanent Representative of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2001/191)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I received letters from the representatives of Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Slovenia, Sweden, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Yugoslavia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, His Excellency Mr. Srgjan Kerim.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Kerim (the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) took a seat at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nesho (Albania), Mr. Sotirov (Bulgaria), Mr. Šimonović (Croatia), Mr. Gounaris (Greece), Mr. Petrič (Slovenia), Mr. Schori (Sweden) and Mr. Mladenović (Yugoslavia) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in response to the request contained in the letter dated 4 March 2001 from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2001/191).

I give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Mr. Srgjan Kerim.

Mr. Kerim (the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia): Allow me to begin by expressing my great satisfaction at seeing you, the representative of Ukraine, presiding over this very important meeting of the Security Council, which was requested by the Government of the Republic of Macedonia. I also want to thank you for your prompt response in organizing this meeting.

I am here to inform the Council on the disturbing developments on the northern border of the Republic of Macedonia. In the past few weeks, my country has been confronted with a serious problem caused by unidentified extremist militant groups stationed on the northern border of the Republic of Macedonia. These groups have occupied the village of Tanusevci, and from this stronghold they have continuously provoked armed incidents for some time now. On 4 March of this year, three soldiers of the Macedonian army were killed.

The extremists have not put forth their demands or their requests. They are consciously holding the local Albanian population hostage, and in view of the fact that the border belt with Kosovo is inhabited mostly by ethnic Albanians, they are also affecting the inter-ethnic relations in my country. Tanusevci is a serious warning that the Macedonian border area with Kosovo can be used constantly for provoking these kinds of incidents, thus threatening the peace, security and stability of Macedonia and the entire region.

The problem we are facing requires political, diplomatic and security measures. The Government and the President of the Republic of Macedonia are undertaking numerous activities with the aim of finding a peaceful solution, in close cooperation with the international community. The coalition Government of Macedonia, including the Democratic Party of Albanians, speaks with one voice and has condemned all attempts made to disrupt the inter-ethnic balance in the country. The Republic of Macedonia undertook a measured security response to the provocations, and only when provoked. The Government of Macedonia appreciates very much the clear signals of support it has received in the statements made by the Security Council, the United Nations Secretary-General, the European Union Presidency, the North Atlantic Council, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and other international forums. The activities of the Kosovo Force (KFOR) in the initial stage were not as effective as necessary, thus causing additional problems for the operations of our security forces. In the meantime, the lack of cooperation between

Macedonian security forces and KFOR has been overcome.

With the aim of resolving this situation, the Government of the Republic of Macedonia adopted an action plan. Its main elements are, in fact, preventive measures against a spillover of the conflict from both sides of the border. The action plan proposes the full observance of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999); the immediate establishment of a ground safety area along the entire Kosovo side of the Macedonian-Yugoslav border, by KFOR and by countries willing to make their contribution if necessary; the undertaking of urgent actions by KFOR for strict compliance of the provisions related to the movement of military and paramilitary formations, arms shipments and a ban on the movement and gathering of larger groups in the ground safety zone; strengthening the permanent coordination of activities between the armed forces of the Republic of Macedonia and KFOR, for the purpose of dealing with the conflict situation in the border area, disarming paramilitary extreme groups and bringing them to justice; and creating conditions for the return of the inhabitants of the village of Tanusevci to their homes.

The action plan also proposes the strengthening of the existing measures and the undertaking of additional ones by the Macedonian Government on the border in order to prevent a spillover of the conflict, in particular by reinforcing police control with new border police units.

The seriousness of the problem I have just elaborated on and the timing of its occurrence demand that we act preventively. In this case, to act preventively means to act promptly. We believe that this plan can work, and that is why we are advancing it before the Security Council.

For the last decade, Macedonia has affirmed itself as a factor of stability in the region, in spite of the challenges presented by the regional crisis. Now that a new page is finally being written in the history of the region, the new climate of cooperation and regional integration is again under threat. This new approach was best articulated at the Skopje summit of heads of State and Government of South-eastern Europe, at which the leaders of the countries of the region committed themselves to a new era of development, cooperation and stability in their relations.

In that context, the Republic of Macedonia signed the agreement with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the demarcation of the border. All countries in South-eastern Europe and the international community as a whole strongly supported this agreement. They have acknowledged its important contribution to the peace and stability of the region.

However, it is evident that there are persons and forces in the Balkans who still believe that the time for creating so-called greater national states and drawing ethnic border lines has not passed. The incident in Tanusevci and in the border area of the Republic of Macedonia with Kosovo must be understood also in this light — as a warning for all of us to react and oppose these kinds of activities without hesitation.

The Security Council should be aware that the incident in Tanusevci must be seen in a broader context. This is not just about Tanusevci or about the Republic of Macedonia. This is about the region of the Balkans and its transformation into a peaceful, stable, democratic and prosperous European region.

Some say that Macedonia is being tested once again, particularly as regards its inter-ethnic relations, which are a crucial element of its stability. But they should not forget that this time the international community is also facing a serious test. Nobody today can claim to have been caught by surprise. The spill-over mission of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe was established almost 10 years ago. I can assure the Council that Macedonia will pass this test in these difficult times, in spite of the fact that a group of people — whom some call guerrillas and others extremists or terrorists — has tried to take hostage not only the local Albanian population but inter-ethnic relations in Macedonia in general.

But in order to be effective, Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) must be fully implemented, and KFOR has to act according to its basic mandate, to prevent spill-over effects and to secure the northern border of Macedonia from the Kosovo side. In this context, I am pleased to note the conclusions reached today by the North Atlantic Council on measures to be undertaken in regard to my country.

Before I conclude, I would like to emphasize once again the role of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo and of KFOR in the period ahead of us. The eyes — and hopes — of the Macedonian population are turned towards KFOR and

the measures it will undertake. It should be clear that at this time we are endeavouring to protect not only the stability of our northern border, but also the values we share with the peoples of the countries represented here — peace, freedom and democracy, in a multi-ethnic and multicultural country like the Republic of Macedonia.

I call upon the Council to support the measures we are proposing. In this fashion, we can work together in reaffirming the preconditions for a peaceful and democratic development of the Balkans, with inviolable, stable and transparent borders. The support of the Council for the case I have had the honour to present to it, on behalf of the Republic of Macedonia, is of crucial importance at this moment. I strongly believe that today's endeavours and the message that the Security Council will send will serve as a basis for undertaking adequate measures for the stabilization of the northern border of my country — the Republic of Macedonia — in the period to come.

I stand ready to answer any questions Council members might have.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for his important statement and for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Cunningham (United States of America): It is a pleasure to welcome Foreign Minister Kerim to the Security Council, although I wish it were under slightly happier circumstances, but it is good to have him here and to hear his views on the situation in his country and in the border area.

I will make my remarks brief, because there is little disagreement in this room about the responsible and careful way that his Government has handled the violence in the northern part of his country, about the need for it to cease and about the desire for the Council to provide support for future actions that can help respond to the problem in a way that is consistent with the Government's responsibility to the rule of law.

My delegation is encouraged that the international community is assisting his Government in managing this problem, and we recognize the important roles that the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Union are all playing in that regard.

Several days ago members of the Council heard from NATO Secretary General Robertson, who noted the difficulty of responding to the problems in the region and described to us some of NATO's efforts to help. It is certainly not easy to balance the different and not always well-grounded or rational perceptions on the ground with the need to take action as the situation requires, and as this situation requires.

I understand that Minister Kerim will be proceeding to Brussels later this week for discussions at NATO, and I am confident that it will be a productive visit.

As the Council will make clear in the statement that the President will read out at the end of this meeting, there is considerable concern about the violence that has spilled over into Macedonia, and there is much support for the efforts of its Government, with the help of the Kosovo Force (KFOR) and others, to deal with it. I should like the Foreign Minister to please take a message back to his Government: that the Security Council understands the seriousness of the problem, that it understands the prudence with which the Government has responded; that it sees the country as an example of democracy based on the rule of law and inter-ethnic cooperation; and that the United Nations will do all it can, in cooperation with other international organizations, to ensure that these accomplishments are not undermined.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): I should like to welcome Minister Kerim to the Council Chamber.

In addition to the statement which will be made in a few moments by the Ambassador of Sweden on behalf of the European Union, I should like to make a few comments in my national capacity.

The Council, as the Minister has emphasized, is meeting in his presence at a time when small armed groups have for several days been provoking serious incidents at the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Macedonia. The destabilization attempts undertaken by such groups at the regional level must be most strongly condemned. The extremists must understand that the international community will not allow them to continue carrying out those deeds. They must be isolated, and their actions must be stopped. This is indeed what the Kosovo Force has undertaken to do with great determination by deploying

all the way to the border and cooperating more closely with Macedonia.

Macedonia is a key element in the regional balance. Its sovereignty and territorial integrity must be respected. Its borders, confirmed by the agreement of 23 February, must be defended. Its internal stability must be preserved. Since its independence, and with wisdom, its leaders have implemented a policy designed to ensure harmonious coexistence among all of the communities that together make up Macedonia. Everything must be done to maintain harmony in this pluralistic society.

What is at stake is the future of a country as well as the future of all of south-eastern Europe. France resolutely supports the policy that is so consistently and moderately being maintained by all the authorities of the country to foster a pluralistic and democratic Macedonia and peace in the region. President Chirac said so when he received President Trajkovski in Paris. Minister for Foreign Affairs Védrine will say it again in a few days in Skopje. In this test France is firmly at the side of Macedonia.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): First I would like to join in those words of welcome that have already been addressed today to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Macedonia, Mr. Kerim, who is taking part in the meeting.

The Russian Government strongly condemns the deterioration of the situation provoked by armed Albanian extremists in the Kosovo portion of the Yugoslav-Macedonian border and within Macedonia. We fully support the legitimate requests of the Macedonian Government on the need to put an end to these provocations, which were presented in detail by the Minister of Macedonia today. We are particularly concerned about new reports of coordinated activities combining the sharp intensification of Albanian fighters' activities in Macedonia with terrorist activities in Kosovo and the Presevo Valley. It is time for the international community to draw lessons from the sad experience of aiding and abetting separatist elements of the Albanian extremists. Recent events show that they are not interested in dialogue and intend, through provocation and stirring tensions, to achieve their nationalistic ideas through methods of force. The fighters' activities are clearly intended to destabilize the internal situation in Macedonia. The extremists are going from isolated terrorist acts to attempts to involve Macedonian army and law enforcement units in broad-scale hostilities using various types of weapons.

This calculation is, as in the past, to provoke a disproportionate reaction and then the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) will supposedly protect them. However, we already see the signs today that everyone, both in NATO and in the Islamic world, have caught on to the provocateurs and have prepared to rebuff their activities, which are causing great harm to the Balkans and are in violation of the basic interests of all Albanians living there. We must immediately put an end to the high-handedness of the extremists, disarm and dissolve the illegal armed groups remaining in Kosovo, and isolate their leaders politically.

The increasing nationalism in Kosovo, the escalation of tension in the Presevo Valley, where once again today a Yugoslav soldier died, and the outbreak of violence in northern Macedonia are, without exaggeration, a threat to peace, security and stability throughout the Balkan region. The international community must stem terrorism and violence on an ethnic basis, ensure respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all States in the Balkan region.

In practical terms, this means in particular the need for the Kosovo Force (KFOR), as required by resolution 1244 (1999), to close the Kosovo portion of the Macedonian-Yugoslav border to the transfer of weapons and fighters from Kosovo. The weapons, including heavy weaponry, that is being used to undermine stability in Macedonia is coming there from Kosovo. In fact, yesterday this was reaffirmed by the Secretary-General of NATO at a meeting with members of the Security Council. So we are all reaping the fruits of aiding and abetting the constant and flagrant violations of the Security Council arms embargo in Kosovo, although Russia has repeatedly called for ultimately ensuring strict compliance with resolution 1160 (1998).

The leadership of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) must also take additional decisive steps with a view to stemming the continuing illegal activities in Kosovo aimed at stirring up militant nationalism, including the attacks we have heard from the mouths of Kosovo Albanian figures on the Yugoslav-Macedonian border demarcation agreement and the territorial integrity of Macedonia. The United Nations Administration

Mission in Kosovo and KFOR bear a special responsibility for preventing the spread of extremism from Kosovo and for retaining stability in the Balkans, and the Security Council must heighten its attention to issues involving compliance by the international presence with their mandates.

Mr. Shen Guofang (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The Chinese delegation warmly welcomes Foreign Minister Kerim among us to brief us on the situation along the Macedonian-Yugoslav border. We thank him for his detailed briefing.

Like all previous speakers, the Chinese delegation condemns the acts of violence provoked by the Albanian extremists. China believes that currently the violence of the Albanian extremists has escalated, spilling over into the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, along the border with Kosovo. China supports the issuing of a Security Council presidential statement and supports a timely response by the Security Council to prevent the situation from spinning out of control. China support the efforts of the Government of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity and encourages it to seek peaceful means of resolving the dispute.

China also hopes that all concerned will undertake political and diplomatic efforts to bring an early negotiated end to this armed conflict and to restore stability to this region.

Easing tension along the border of Kosovo and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is linked to resolution of the Kosovo question. China believes that the United Nations Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the Kosovo Force (KFOR) need to take further measures to curb the activities of the Kosovo Albanian extremists. Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) must be implemented in its entirety. In particular, we call on KFOR to take into account the views of the Government of Macedonia and take effective action to beef up border patrols so as to stop the Albanian extremists from crossing the border and to stop the trafficking of illicit weapons.

The current situation shows once again that in the long term durable peace can only be realized in the region by fostering cohesion, reconciliation and tolerance among the ethnic communities and by promoting inter-ethnic harmony. Countries and parties in the region and the international community should strive for this goal.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore): I would like to join you, Mr. President, and our colleagues in warmly welcoming the Foreign Minister. Given the lateness of the hour I will be brief, but I hope that our brevity will not be misunderstood as any lack of sympathy or lack of support for the concerns that are being expressed by the Foreign Minister.

It is clear that the Council is seized of the difficult situation that you have described. This week the Council has met the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization under the Arria formula. He met with the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia, and now we are meeting with you. I think we have had three high-level meetings in one week to discuss the Kosovo situation. It is, I believe, unprecedented and indicates how seized we are of the situation.

As you have also heard, Mr. Minister, there seems to be a high degree of consensus in this room. All of us condemn the Albanian extremists, and this will be clearly stated in the presidential statement that we will be adopting immediately after this meeting.

On our part, we would like to quickly agree with two points that the Foreign Minister made in his speech. The first point relates to his statement that the problem his country is facing requires political, diplomatic and security measures. The only point we would add is that it might also require economic measures as a long-term solution. We were pleased to note that the Foreign Minister said that the leaders of the countries of the region have committed themselves to a new era of development, cooperation and stability in their relations. We believe that this is the best long-term formula.

The second point the Foreign Minister made was that it should not be forgotten that, this time, the international community is also being seriously tested. I believe that that is a very clear hint that the Council faces a serious test on this issue. Certainly, we will ultimately be judged not by the press statements we make, nor by the presidential statements we issue, nor by the resolutions we adopt, but by results on the ground. We hope that, as a result of the Council's actions, there will be results on the ground. If there are not, we hope that the Foreign Minister will keep us posted.

Mr. Ward (Jamaica): Yesterday, the Council had the opportunity to meet with the Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and with the Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Today's meeting with the Foreign Minister of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia emphasizes that the issues affecting peace and security in the Balkans must be dealt with in a regional context.

Allow me to welcome Mr. Kerim and to thank him for outlining his Government's plan of action aimed at preventing a further deterioration of the situation. I extend to him my country's sincere condolences for the loss of the lives of the three Macedonian soldiers that occurred as a result of the violence along his country's border with Kosovo.

Last Friday, my delegation joined other members of the Council in the condemnation of the recent violence by extremists seeking to undermine stability and security in the region. At that time, the Council welcomed the initial steps taken by the Kosovo Force (KFOR) to control the border and urged KFOR and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo to consider further steps in this regard. We are therefore pleased to note the close cooperation between KFOR and the Government of Macedonia that has emerged in the past few days, aimed at preventing further escalation of the violence. We note, too, the assistance being provided by other Governments and international organizations.

The new Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Kosovo, Mr. Hans Haekkerup, has also held meetings with officials of Macedonia to offer support for the Government's attempts to reduce tensions along the border. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General and UNMIK have pledged to do all that is possible to help to stabilize the situation. We encourage the Government of Macedonia to continue this close collaboration and to seek a political solution to the tensions.

We note the Foreign Minister's suggestions regarding additional measures to be taken to prevent further escalation and we look forward to future discussions of this matter. It is essential that future action to reduce tensions along the border be undertaken, bearing in mind the ultimate goal of reconciliation. We continue to hope for the peaceful coexistence of the various ethnic groups in the Balkan region, an environment of peace and stability and their integration into the wider European community.

Jamaica joins in supporting the statement which you, Mr. President, will make on behalf of the Council.

Mr. Kolby (Norway): We, too, are very pleased to have this opportunity to meet with the Foreign Minister of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and to hear his views on the issues of peace and security in the region, which are important to the Council.

First of all, Norway would like to commend Macedonian authorities for having successfully maintained peace and stability and developed democracy in their country during a decade of independence under difficult circumstances. This has been achieved not least thanks to a consistent policy of constructive cooperation between the various ethnic groups, Macedonian Slavs and Albanians. Norway appreciates the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia's achievements and we will work to ensure that the international community actively supports the Foreign Minister's efforts to maintain peace and stability in the future as well.

At the outset, we must make it clear that the Foreign Minister's country has legitimate security concerns which must be addressed and that its sovereignty and territorial integrity must be fully upheld and respected. Norway strongly condemns all violent activities of extremist armed groups in the region, including the Albanian extremist attack last Sunday, which tragically caused the deaths of three Macedonian soldiers. Such activities constitute a threat to internal as well as regional peace and stability and must be firmly rejected. It is, not least, important that leaders in the region isolate the extremist forces and clearly condemn acts of violence.

We support the Macedonian authorities in their legitimate efforts to restore internal peace and security, including confidence-building measures on the Macedonian side of the border with Kosovo. It is important that the measures used be proportionate to the challenges on the ground and we commend the responsibility and restraint shown by the Foreign Minister's Government in responding to this situation.

My Government notes with interest the plan of activities proposed by the Macedonian authorities. Norway agrees that the Kosovo Force (KFOR) must

intensify its activities to control the border areas in Kosovo. We also agree on the importance of keeping close contact between the Macedonian army and KFOR in order to achieve the best possible control of these border areas.

In conclusion, we firmly believe that today's presidential statement will provide important support for the Foreign Minister's future efforts.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): We, too, warmly welcome Minister Kerim's presence. I think that he is finding that the Council is pretty unanimous in what it is saying to him in support of the proposals he has put forward and on the situation his country finds itself in. We certainly condemn the recent violence that ethnic Albanian extremists have perpetrated in northern Macedonia, including the tragic killing of the three soldiers at the weekend.

We very much welcome the dialogue that has now sprung up between the Macedonian Government and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Kosovo Force (KFOR) on practical steps to address the immediate situation and to provide a basis for intensified, longer-term cooperation. I entirely echo the commendation of my colleagues around this table for the prudent action taken so far by the Macedonian Government. The Foreign Minister's visit to NATO on Friday will be an important occasion for operationalizing the proposals for action that he has presented today. Resolution 1244 (1999) gives KFOR a broad mandate to act and the operational decisions are for it to make. We welcome the measures that have already been agreed — for instance, tougher KFOR control of the boundary and closer liaison between KFOR and the Macedonian armed forces. These should soon translate into more effective combined response on the ground.

We in the Council will continue to monitor the situation closely from here, in parallel with the operational action taken by our colleagues in the North Atlantic Council. There is strong United Kingdom support for the presidential statement that we are adopting today, which should send a clear message to the extremists that the violence will not be tolerated.

Mr. Cooney (Ireland): Ireland joins with others in welcoming Foreign Minister Kerim to the Security Council today. We, too, strongly condemn the recent violence by armed extremists along the border region between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, including the attacks on Sunday near Tanusevci that resulted in the deaths of three Macedonian soldiers. These incidents endanger the stability not only of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, but of the entire region, and they contradict the positive signals of the recent South East European Cooperation Process summit in Skopje.

Ireland fully subscribes to the statement that will be delivered by the Permanent Representative of Sweden, representing the Presidency of the European Union. I would like to take this opportunity to highlight just a few points of particular significance and to ask the Foreign Minister a question. We encourage the political leaders in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Kosovo to take action aimed at establishing peace and stability in the region. We commend the sensible restraint displayed to date by the Skopje authorities and take note of the action plan that Foreign Minister Kerim outlined today; we will be examining it carefully.

Ireland supports the dialogue between the authorities of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Kosovo Force aimed at taking further practical steps in controlling the border region. We believe it is essential that the efforts of all relevant international organizations, including the European Union, the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization aimed at establishing stability should be properly coordinated. Ireland fully supports the territorial integrity of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, a partner in our common European endeavour, and expects all parties to respect the border demarcation agreement signed in Skopje on 23 February.

Finally, the current situation serves to underline the importance of reinforcing ethnic relations in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and I would be interested to hear from the Foreign Minister if there is anything further that the international community can do to assist the efforts of the Skopje Government in this regard.

Mr. Cherif (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): I would like to welcome Mr. Kerim, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. His presence among us demonstrates the importance of the question under consideration today. Indeed, the violence on the border of Kosovo is threatening the

stability and ethnic balance of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Furthermore, this violence is in danger of destabilizing the region as a whole and of compromising the efforts made to date by the international community.

We strongly condemn the attacks perpetrated against the army of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, which have resulted in the death of soldiers. We believe that such acts of violence must be brought to an end throughout the entire region, especially in the border areas. We reaffirm the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the right of its people to a peaceful life within its borders. In this regard, we welcome the border demarcation agreement of 23 February signed in Skopje between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. We urge the Kosovo Force to make further efforts in order to halt the crisis and to prevent it from spreading throughout the region creating new hotbeds of tension.

Furthermore, we believe that it is essential to deal with the root causes of violence in the region, especially the economic and social causes, and to take adequate steps for the restoration of lasting peace in the region. We are convinced that the settlement of all disputes through peaceful means and dialogue might help the parties to embark upon the path of lasting ethnic reconciliation.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to begin by welcoming Mr. Kerim, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and expressing the support of my country for the quest for a solution to the problems that have brought us together today.

Colombia condemns all forms of violence; we cannot accept any justification for it. We therefore join with those who have already condemned the acts that have taken place in recent days near the town of Tanusevci, on the border between Kosovo and Macedonia. My country believes that respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States is one of the most important principles of international relations. We therefore reject the continuing threats by extremists to the territorial integrity of Macedonia.

We support the request of the Minister with regard to the need for the Kosovo Force to act immediately to halt such terrorist activities and prevent them from spilling over to the rest of the country and the region. As the Minister rightly pointed out, it is necessary for the international community to continue to maintain a meaningful presence in the area so as to avoid a deterioration of the situation and contribute to the restoration of trust between the parties. We must spare no effort to find a political way out of this crisis, which in our view is the only viable solution.

I should like to conclude by expressing the support of my delegation for the presidential statement that we will adopt after this meeting.

Mr. Ouane (Mali) (*spoke in French*): I, too, would like to thank Mr. Kerim, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, for his statement. I note that the information he gave to the Council confirms that there has been a deterioration of the situation on the border between the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Kosovo. Like other delegations, we are deeply concerned over the escalation of tension in the Presevo Valley and the increase in violence in the north of Macedonia. We strongly condemn the violent and illegal terrorist acts committed by extremist groups in the region, especially the death of three soldiers last week. We also support the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and we urge all the parties concerned to show restraint, because we are convinced that the current situation can be resolved only through political means.

My delegation also welcomes the signing, on 1 March 2001, of a border demarcation agreement between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Finally, I would like to say that my delegation remains committed to the search for a comprehensive solution to the problem in the Balkans and expresses its support of my delegation for the presidential statement that we will adopt after this meeting.

Mr. Neewoor (Mauritius): My delegation welcomes the Foreign Minister of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to the Security Council Chamber, and thanks him for the briefing he has given us. My delegation condemns the acts of violence in northern Macedonia by Albanian extremists. We appreciate the fact that the Government of Macedonia has exercised great restraint in addressing the situation resulting from the action of the Albanian extremists. We have no doubt that the Kosovo Force and the

United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo will provide full support to the Government of Macedonia in addressing the situation.

Macedonia is an example of a stable, multi-ethnic democracy and deserves the full support of the Security Council for the proposals that the Minister presented to manage the crisis imposed on it by the Albanian militants. We assure the Minister of our total support, and we endorse the presidential statement that will be issued at the end of our meeting.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Ukraine.

The rapid deterioration of the situation in the Republic of Macedonia, which prompted the convening of today's emergency meeting, is a matter of close attention in my country. On 5 March, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine issued a statement, which reads as follows:

> "Ukraine is deeply concerned at the recent acts of violence perpetrated by the extremist armed groups in the border area between the Republic of Macedonia and Kosovo (the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), which claimed human lives. Of particular concern is the continuation of activities by the Albanian extremist forces, which have not given up the methods of terror and violence. A series of armed incidents that have been recently provoked by these forces are fraught with a new escalation of tensions in the whole region.
>
> "Ukraine notes the immediate steps taken by KFOR with a view to reinforcing the control of the situation on the border between the FRY and Macedonia and supports the UN Security Council in its call on UNMIK and KFOR to consider further measures aimed at easing the situation."

In addition to that statement, I would like to put on record a few more points.

First, we strongly condemn attacks against the Macedonian soldiers and deplore the violent deaths of three of them a few days ago.

Secondly, we reaffirm our full support for respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Macedonia.

Thirdly, the armed clashes between the Albanian fighters and the Macedonian troops that broke out on the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at its Kosovo section and the Republic of Macedonia should be seen as a direct consequence of the critical situation in southern Serbia. It is therefore obvious to us that remedying the situation on the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Macedonia will be impossible without finding a viable solution to the problem of restoring proper security conditions in the ground safety zone.

In our view, further enhancement of cooperation between the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the Kosovo Force (KFOR), on the one hand, and the Yugoslav Government, on the other, remains indispensable.

We are encouraged by the ongoing dialogue between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Yugoslav Government on the problems in southern Serbia. We support NATO's intention to carry out a reduction in the size of the ground safety zone as a good step forward. In our view, swift implementation of the plan by the Yugoslav Government, aimed at achieving a political solution to the existing problems in southern Serbia through confidence-building measures, will contribute to significantly curbing the current dangerous developments in the Republic of Macedonia as well.

Fourthly, Ukraine commends the Macedonian Government for its measured response to the situation so far and for its inclination to seek a solution through political means. In our judgement, the plan of activities aimed at preventing a spillover of the conflict, as presented today by the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Macedonia, makes a lot of sense and deserves our support.

Fifthly, we welcome NATO's commitment to support the security, stability and territorial integrity of that country, as was stated by the Secretary-General of NATO on 2 March 2001. We also welcome steps already taken to assist the Macedonian Government in protecting its frontiers.

We applaud the measures currently being put in place by NATO to reinforce existing KFOR capabilities to monitor the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at its Kosovo section and the Republic of Macedonia, as well as the announcement by the European Union about the increase in the number of its

monitors in the area. In our view, the Council should encourage further joint efforts by KFOR and other relevant international organizations, in coordination with the Macedonian Government, towards the implementation of that Government's plan of activities presented today.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Sweden. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Schori (Sweden): As you know, Mr. President, I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — as well as the associated countries of Cyprus, Malta and Turkey and the European Free Trade Association countries of the European Economic Area, Iceland and Liechtenstein, align themselves with this statement.

The European Union welcomes the visit of Foreign Minister Kerim to the Security Council and thanks him for his statement on the situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

The European Union is deeply concerned about the recent escalation of violence in the border region between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia/Kosovo and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The European Union strongly condemns the growing number of violent incidents in this area, including the ethnic Albanian extremist attack of Sunday, 4 March, near the village of Tanusevci, which led to the death of three soldiers. Violent acts such as those endanger the stability and security of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and its citizens and should stop immediately.

The European Union calls upon all political leaders in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Kosovo to isolate the forces behind those violent acts and to shoulder their responsibility for peace and stability in the region.

The European Union reiterates its strong attachment to the principle of the inviolability of all borders in the region, including the territorial integrity of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

The European Union welcomes the efforts initiated by the Kosovo Force (KFOR) aimed at increased control of the border area in the region, and the further strengthening of coordination between the authorities of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and KFOR to contribute to the stabilization of the situation in the area.

A peaceful and stable former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia within internationally recognized borders is an important condition for furthering the integration of that country with the European Union, as well as a key factor for stability in the region.

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Turkey in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Göktürk (Turkey) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Bulgaria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sotirov (Bulgaria): I feel privileged to congratulate you, Mr. President — our former colleague and friend — on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. I wish you and your colleagues every success in the fulfilment of your important tasks.

My delegation welcomes the valuable participation of the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Macedonia, Mr. Srgjan Kerim, in the present debate. The action plan he introduced today merits careful consideration. We believe that its realization would create conditions for a reduction of the tension in that part of the region and for the strict implementation of resolution 1244 (1999), as the only basis for lasting solution to the existing problems.

Bulgaria has associated itself with the statement just made by the Permanent Representative of Sweden on behalf of the European Union. However, as a neighbouring country we asked for the floor to reiterate our strong concern with regard to the recent acts of violence in the northern part of Macedonia, along its border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Bulgarian Government has already adopted two declarations strongly condemning the activities of terrorist groups that violate the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Macedonia. The latest tragic incidents led to the death of three Macedonian soldiers.

The Bulgarian Government considers that the activities of the armed Albanian extremists in the area of the village of Tanusevci amount to opening up a new front in the war over Kosovo, and believes that they impede the efforts of the international community to find a lasting, peaceful solution to the problem on the basis of the provisions of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). These attacks do not stem from an inter-ethnic conflict in the Republic of Macedonia, but represent attempts to initiate such a conflict in that country.

The attacks came at a time when, after a 10-year effort, the Republic of Macedonia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had concluded an agreement on the delimitation of their common border. The Bulgarian Government welcomed this agreement as an additional factor for regional stability. Therefore, we strongly reject any attempts to question a border recognized by international law. We consider that the recent events affect the security of the Republic of Macedonia and may generate a new source of destabilization in this part of the region. Serious concerns exist that the undermining of the borderline in the area serves the interests of certain organized crime elements that finance the extremist circles on both sides of the border. Only a total isolation of the extremists can put an end to their illegal activities.

The stability of the Republic of Macedonia is of key importance for the national interests of Bulgaria and the other countries in the region. Therefore, the Bulgarian Government renders strong moral and political support to the efforts of the Macedonian authorities to use political and diplomatic means and refrain from seeking a military solution. My Government maintains permanent contacts with the Government of the Republic of Macedonia. We have already expressed our readiness to provide any assistance on a bilateral and multilateral basis, including military and technical, that the Macedonian authorities may deem necessary for the management of the existing crisis. Tomorrow, Prime Minister Ivan Kostov will pay an official visit to the Republic of Macedonia.

Bulgaria considers that the active involvement of the international community is vital for reducing the existing tension. It is still possible to prevent the spillover of the conflict to other parts of the border area. Otherwise, if the escalation of tension is not curbed in due time, the United Nations might be forced to resort to a much larger-scale and costly operation. We commend the readiness of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to support the stability and security of the Republic of Macedonia. As a participant in the Kosovo Force (KFOR) and the United Nations Interim Administration in Kosovo, Bulgaria expects further measures to be taken in order to strengthen the control of the Yugoslav border between Kosovo and Macedonia and to disrupt the supply sources of the extremists. A case in point is to find ways for guaranteeing the implementation of the provisions of the Military Technical Agreement signed in Kumanovo on 9 June 1999, entrusting KFOR with control over the Yugoslav border with the Republic of Macedonia and Albania.

Bulgaria will continue to closely follow the situation on the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Macedonia and will spare no efforts in promoting stability and cooperation in southeastern Europe. My Government will welcome any decision by the Security Council that could reduce the tension and facilitate the full implementation of resolution 1244 (1999).

The President: I thank the representative of Bulgaria for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Greece. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to give his statement.

Mr. Gounaris (Greece): I have the honour to speak on behalf of my Government on the situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. I would like to associate myself with the statement of the European Union delivered by the Permanent Representative of Sweden, Ambassador Schori.

I wish to welcome the presence of Mr. Kerim, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, in the Security Council and express our appreciation for his statement. We believe that the points he outlined should be taken into serious consideration.

Greece, along with the international community, strongly and unequivocally condemns all acts of violence and terrorism both across the northern borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and in southern Serbia.

In his visit yesterday to Skopje, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece, Mr. George Papandreou, conveyed a message on behalf of the Greek Prime Minister that underlines that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, within its internationally recognized borders, is essential for the stability in our region.

Furthermore, Greece reiterates its full support for all measures already undertaken and welcomes further measures by the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union, ensuring the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia's inviolability of borders, territorial integrity and unitary character.

Greece firmly believes that the international community, at this very moment, should not hesitate to address, immediately and effectively, the fragile security situation along the borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The escalation of acts of violence could destabilize that country's very foundations as a multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-religious State, in which so much has been successfully invested by the international community.

Greece encourages a continuous regional dialogue, aiming at preventing any spillover of violence and promoting democracy, more tolerance, less fragmentation, respect of existing borders and prosperous development of the whole region.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Slovenia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Petrič (Slovenia): Slovenia aligns itself fully with the statement of the European Union that was delivered by the distinguished representative of Sweden on behalf of the European Union and associated countries.

It is an honour to greet among us Mr. Srgjan Kerim, the Foreign Minister of a country that has in a decade of crisis and wars in the Balkans showed great restraint, maturity and persistence in resolving peacefully complicated and dangerous situations. His country has participated actively in a set of initiatives to stabilize the region and to promote cooperation and development — such as the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative, the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe, the South East European Cooperation Process and others. Let me mention that Minister Kerim himself has been one of the most outstanding promoters of the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe. His personal engagement has contributed to the success of this important international initiative.

To keep Macedonia out of conflicts during the last decade has not been an easy achievement in an often unfriendly environment and in extremely difficult economic circumstances. In spite of the negative effects on Macedonia's economy of the sanctions established against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and in spite of its delicate ethnic composition, Macedonia has successfully protected not only its territorial integrity but also its internal stability, democratic process and economic progress. During the times of Kosovo crisis Macedonia has, at great sacrifice, given refuge to hundreds of thousands of Albanian refugees from Kosovo, victims of ethnic cleansing, and has extended its full support to the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other international organizations in their involvement to resolve the Kosovo crisis.

And most importantly, in the years when aggression and ethnic and religious conflicts seemed to be a normal state of affairs in parts of former Yugoslavia, Macedonia has successfully integrated its Albanian population and other minorities in political, economic and social life.

In the last weeks, we have witnessed violence by extremists and terrorists near the border of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Macedonia. The acts of the extremists endanger the stability of Macedonia and could provoke a new crisis. Indeed, the escalation of violence, if not checked immediately, can endanger not only Macedonia, but the larger region as well. We

should not underestimate the extremely dangerous consequences, if the extremists are not checked and if de-escalation of tensions is not achieved.

It goes without saying that Slovenia strongly condemns the violent acts. Slovenia urges political leaders, in particular the leaders of the Albanian community in Macedonia and the leaders of Kosovo Albanians, to isolate the extremists and perpetrators of violent acts in Kosovo, in the Presevo Valley and now in the border region of Macedonia. Slovenia also urges leaders to shoulder their responsibility and show active support for peace and stability in the region. Kosovo Albanian leaders should not forget that only through the support of the international community, including the support of Macedonia, have they successfully sustained the onslaught of the Milosević regime on the Albanian community in Kosovo.

The presence and involvement of the international community in Macedonia and in the Balkans in general in the past decade has brought peace to the region. Let us now, through timely and vigorous action and through full support for Macedonia, prevent the results achieved from being endangered. We are sure that with the active involvement of the international community, and with the activities of the Macedonian authorities — which should, as they have up to now, remain measured and restrained, and political rather than military — a de-escalation of the situation can be achieved and an emerging crisis avoided.

The President: I thank the representative of Slovenia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Croatia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Šimonović (Croatia): We welcome the presence of Macedonia's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Kerim, at this meeting.

The Government of the Republic of Croatia condemns the extremist attacks and expresses concerns about the possible escalation of violent conflict in Macedonia. Accordingly, the Croatian Foreign Ministry issued a statement yesterday voicing concern that such attacks are destabilizing the security situation in Macedonia and impairing the process of normalization in Kosovo, thereby leading to the deterioration of relations in the entire region.

We regret deeply the loss of life resulting from these terrorist acts. We condemn the incidents along the northern border of Macedonia as well as the threats directed at representatives of the international community in the area. At the same time, we salute the restraint demonstrated by the authorities of the Republic of Macedonia. Unified and determined action on the part of the international community to prevent any further deterioration of the situation in the region — still corrupted by the negative legacy of the former Milosević regime — remains indispensable.

The sufferings of the Albanian population in Kosovo should not be forgotten, but violence only breeds more violence. Together with their brethren elsewhere in the region, the Albanians in Macedonia must strive, as the majority of them do, to protect their rights and interests through democratic institutions. In such efforts they enjoy our full support.

The Republic of Croatia wishes to reiterate that its primary interest and commitment remains the maintenance of peace and overall security in the area, for the benefit of all citizens of Macedonia as well as all peoples of South-eastern Europe.

It remains very important, for the long-term stability of South-eastern Europe, to clarify the tragic events of the recent past, to establish responsibility for them and to break the cycle of impunity by punishing the persons responsible, first of all Mr. Milosević, for committing war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. At the same time, it is absolutely crucial to depart from the tradition of using violence to achieve political aims and to accept dialogue as the only legitimate means for resolving the remaining differences and disputes.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mladenović (Yugoslavia): The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is seriously concerned at the escalation of ethnic Albanian terrorism, which has now spread to Macedonia, threatening the security of the broader region. The consistent efforts of the countries of the region and the international community to stabilize conditions and strengthen confidence are being seriously jeopardized.

The latest armed attacks committed by ethnic Albanian terrorists in the village of Tanusevci in Macedonia have resulted in the loss of three lives. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as a neighbour country, is following with particular attention the developments in Macedonia. We fully support the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Macedonia. We consider that the Government of Macedonia is entitled to take all legitimate measures to preserve its territorial integrity and stabilize the situation on its sovereign soil. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia fully supports the plan of action for resolving the crisis on the border between Macedonia and Yugoslavia which the Macedonian Government adopted on Monday and Foreign Minister Srgjan Kerim outlined in his statement just now.

My Government condemns most strongly the latest armed terrorist attacks against the army of Macedonia. It is evident that this is an attempt to provoke a new conflagration in the Balkans in order to achieve political goals by violence. We are faced with the same problems on part of our own territory, on the other side of the Yugoslav-Macedonian border. This afternoon, a vehicle of the army of Yugoslavia ran over a landmine activated by a remote-control mechanism and planted by Albanian terrorists on the road near the village of Orahovic in southern Serbia, outside of the ground safety zone. In the explosion, two soldiers were killed instantly, and two officers were gravely wounded. I was informed prior to the beginning of this meeting that one of the officers has succumbed to his wounds and that the other is fighting for his life. It is high time that resolute and concrete measures be taken against Albanian extremism. It is obvious that all these extremist actions are coordinated on a larger scale and that they are a function of greater Albanian goals and objectives.

Yugoslavia continues to be consistent in its conviction that the troubles that beset the region can be solved only in a peaceful way, through dialogue and with full respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all States. There is no denying that the responsibility for the security situation in Kosovo and Metohija lies squarely on the Kosovo Force (KFOR) and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), as provided for by Security Council resolution 1244 (1999).

The tragic events in the village of Tanusevci on one side, and the village of Orahovic on the other side of the Yugoslav-Macedonian border, as well as those that took place recently in the ground safety zone along the administrative boundary of Kosovo and Metohija, confirm in the most apparent way that the demilitarization of Albanian armed groups has not been carried out as provided for by Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). Likewise, the uncontrolled crossing of armed extremist groups and weapons from Kosovo and Metohija to southern Serbia and Macedonia has not been stopped yet. Yugoslavia and Macedonia, as democratic States, are fully entitled to expect the Security Council to address a clear and resolute message to Albanian extremists.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its democratically elected Government will continue to call for a peaceful solution. We are convinced that this is in the best interest of the stability of the region and the development of good-neighbourly cooperation. The recent signing of the agreement on the demarcation of the State border between Yugoslavia and Macedonia is a result of the efforts of our two countries to make a contribution towards these goals.

We are convinced that the Security Council should support the Macedonian Government in its efforts to defeat the present attempts to destabilize its country, thus contributing to the stability of the entire region.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Albania. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Nesho (Albania): Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for me to see you back in this Chamber, and I wish you every success in your new responsibilities.

My delegation welcomes the participation of the Foreign Minister of Macedonia, Mr. Srgjan Kerim, and has listened with great interest to his statement.

I should like to read the statement of the Albanian Government adopted in response to the events that took place in Tanusevci.

> "The Albanian Government has observed with attention and concern the latest developments in different parts of our region, as in Kosovo and southern Serbia. It is deeply concerned over the latest violent episode in the village of Tanusevci, in Macedonia, where, according to a news agency, three Macedonian soldiers were killed. Expressing its regret over

the victims of the violence, the Albanian Government reiterates its denunciation of the acts of violence of extremist groups or individuals, acts which run counter to the aspirations of Albanians and Macedonian Albanians throughout the region. We believe that the Macedonian Government will continue to show proper restraint and wisdom in treating and resolving the situation created. The Albanian Government has constantly supported the resolution of the Albanians' problems in Macedonia through institutional and democratic means.

"The Albanian Government has commended the positive step taken by the Macedonian Government during the past year aimed at the affirmation of the Albanian population's rights, in the spirit of tolerance and cooperation. In this light, the acts of violence run counter to the interests of the Albanians and the position of the Albanian political faction in Macedonia. Such acts are aimed at damaging the image of the Albanian people all over the region and at depriving them of the international support and sympathy won during the war in Kosovo.

"Therefore, the Albanian Government calls upon all Albanian political parties, in Macedonia as well as in Kosovo, to distance themselves from such extremist acts wherever they occur and whoever their perpetrators are. In the meantime, the Albanian Government shares the concern of the international community and expresses its high consideration for the commitment of the international community to the peaceful solution of the problem in our region. Finally, the Albanian Government will continue to commit itself to the democratic stability of Macedonia and of the whole region, in cooperation with the international community, the Governments of the countries of the region and the Albanian political forces in Macedonia, Kosovo, Montenegro and southern Serbia."

The President: I thank the representative of Albania for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Turkey. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Göktürk (Turkey): I shall be brief at this late hour. It is a pleasure for us to see here the Foreign Minister of Macedonia, a country that is a close friend of Turkey.

We have already aligned ourselves with the statement delivered by the Ambassador of Sweden. As a neighbouring country and a close historical friend of Macedonia, I took the liberty of taking the floor in order to make a few additional comments.

Yesterday the Turkish Foreign Ministry issued a statement deploring the recent violence in the Kosovo section of Macedonia's northern border. Today the Turkish President called his counterpart, President Trajkovski, to express his sympathy for the loss of life and to reassure his counterpart of Turkey's resolve to support Macedonia's security and territorial integrity. The Deputy Under-Secretary of the Turkish Foreign Ministry will be on his way early tomorrow morning to Skopje to have a first-hand view of the situation evolving there and have extensive discussions with the Macedonian authorities.

We stand by Macedonia in its hour of distress. We stand resolutely against all acts of terrorism. We likewise condemn the escalation of acts of violence perpetrated by extremist elements on the northern border of Macedonia. We have full respect for the territorial integrity and the internationally recognized borders of the Republic of Macedonia. We also support the measures being taken by the Government of Macedonia and by the international community, aimed at arresting and remedying the situation.

The President: I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Mr. Kerim, for final comments.

Mr. Kerim (the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia): I would like to thank you personally, Mr. President, and all the representatives of the members of the Security Council and of the other countries that joined today's discussion for the condolences expressed concerning the deaths of three innocent soldiers of the Macedonian army. They were victims of violence, but their lives are an invaluable asset, as a part of the peaceful policy of Macedonia in the region and in Europe. I can assure the Council that Macedonia's peaceful policy and the philosophy behind it, based, among other things, on the inter-ethnic balance, will continue.

Nothing in this world will prevent us from pursuing this policy. The fact that our security forces

did not intervene proportionally is not a matter of political tactics on the part of my Government and the President. It is a matter of deepest conviction that we do not regard our own population, including the Albanian part of it, as targets. If there are any targets at all, targets have to be terrorists and extremists. I am very glad to state today that they have been regarded as a target in this discussion, and I would like to thank the Council very much for its support for the measures we have presented here on behalf of my Government and for the policy that my country is pursuing in the region. I am grateful for the support expressed in the President's statement and in all the other statements made in this discussion.

Finally, in response to the question of the representative of Ireland, I would like to stress that my country is pursuing a policy of inter-ethnic relations based on concrete measures, and these measures imply further measures in higher education for the various nationalities, particularly the Albanian nationality, and in local government. In this respect, I would like to call on the European Union and all friendly Governments and other friendly partners to support these efforts with concrete measures and concrete projects. This is how we can carry out preventive diplomacy and fight successfully against extremists. I can assure all those people who still believe that they can turn the wheel of history backwards in the Balkans that my country will not support or participate in such actions. On the contrary: we will pursue our policy that was outlined in my statement today.

The President: The Security Council has thus concluded its business for this meeting. The Council will reconvene immediately to continue its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 8.10 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4290

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4290th meeting

Wednesday, 7 March 2001, 8.10 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Yel'Chenko	(Ukraine)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Sorcar
	China	Mr. Wang Donghua
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Ireland	Mr. Cooney
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Mauritius	Mr. Latona
	Norway	Mr. Larsen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sergeev
	Singapore	Mr. Yap
	Tunisia	Mr. Cherif
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Clunes
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Letter dated 4 March 2001 from the Permanent Representative of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2001/191).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-27726 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 8.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 4 March 2001 from the Permanent Representative of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2001/191)

The President: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council welcomes the participation of the Foreign Minister of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in its meeting on 7 March 2001 and carefully listened to him.

"The Security Council strongly condemns recent violence by ethnic Albanian armed extremists in the north of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, in particular the killing of three soldiers of the armed forces of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in the area of Tanusevci. The Security Council regrets that the violence continues and calls for an immediate end to it.

"The Security Council expresses its deep concern at those events, which constitute a threat to the stability and security not only of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia but also of the entire region. It calls on all political leaders in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Kosovo, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, who are in a position to do so to isolate the forces behind the violent incidents and to shoulder their responsibility for peace and stability in the region.

"The Security Council underlines the responsibility of the Government of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for the rule of law in its territory. It supports actions by the Government of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to address the violence with an appropriate level of restraint and to preserve the political stability of the country and foster harmony between all ethnic components of the population.

"The Security Council recalls the need to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In this context it emphasizes that the border demarcation agreement, signed in Skopje on 23 February 2001, and ratified by the Parliament of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on 1 March 2001, must be respected by all.

"The Security Council welcomes the steps taken by the international security presence (KFOR) to control the border between Kosovo, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in accordance with the military-technical agreement signed in Kumanovo on 9 June 1999. It welcomes the ongoing dialogue between the Government of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and KFOR on practical steps to address the immediate security situation and to prevent crossing of the border by extremists as well as possible violations of resolution 1160 (1998) of 31 March 1998. It welcomes the efforts of all relevant international organizations in cooperation with the Government of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to promote stability and to create conditions for a return of the inhabitants to their homes.

"The Security Council will continue to follow the developments on the ground closely, and requests to be briefed regularly on the outcome of the efforts referred to above."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2001/7.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

I should like to thank all my colleagues around the table for their patience and discipline during this long but useful day in the Security Council.

The meeting rose at 8.20 p.m.